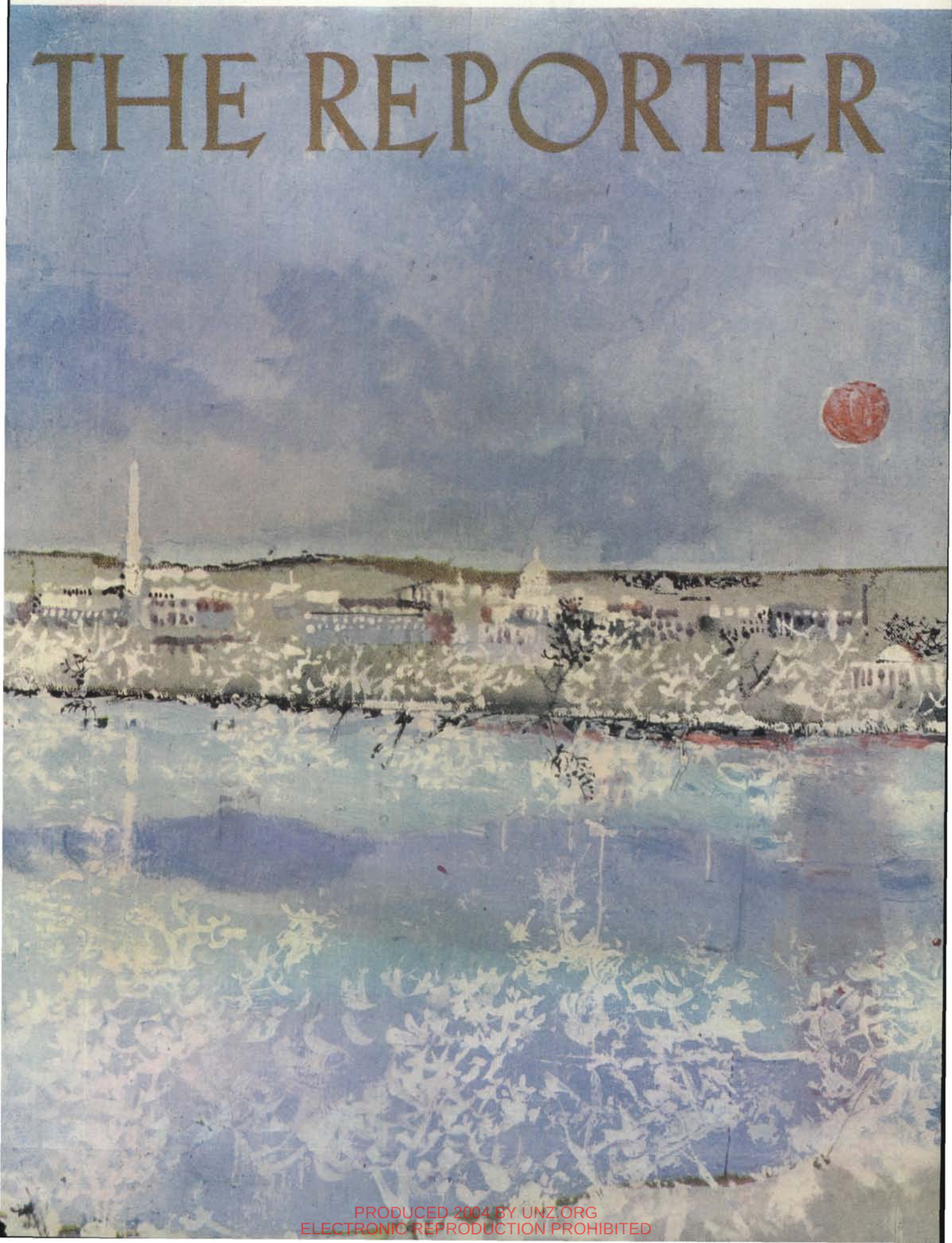
Mr. McNamara Remodels the Pentagon

January 18, 1962 25¢

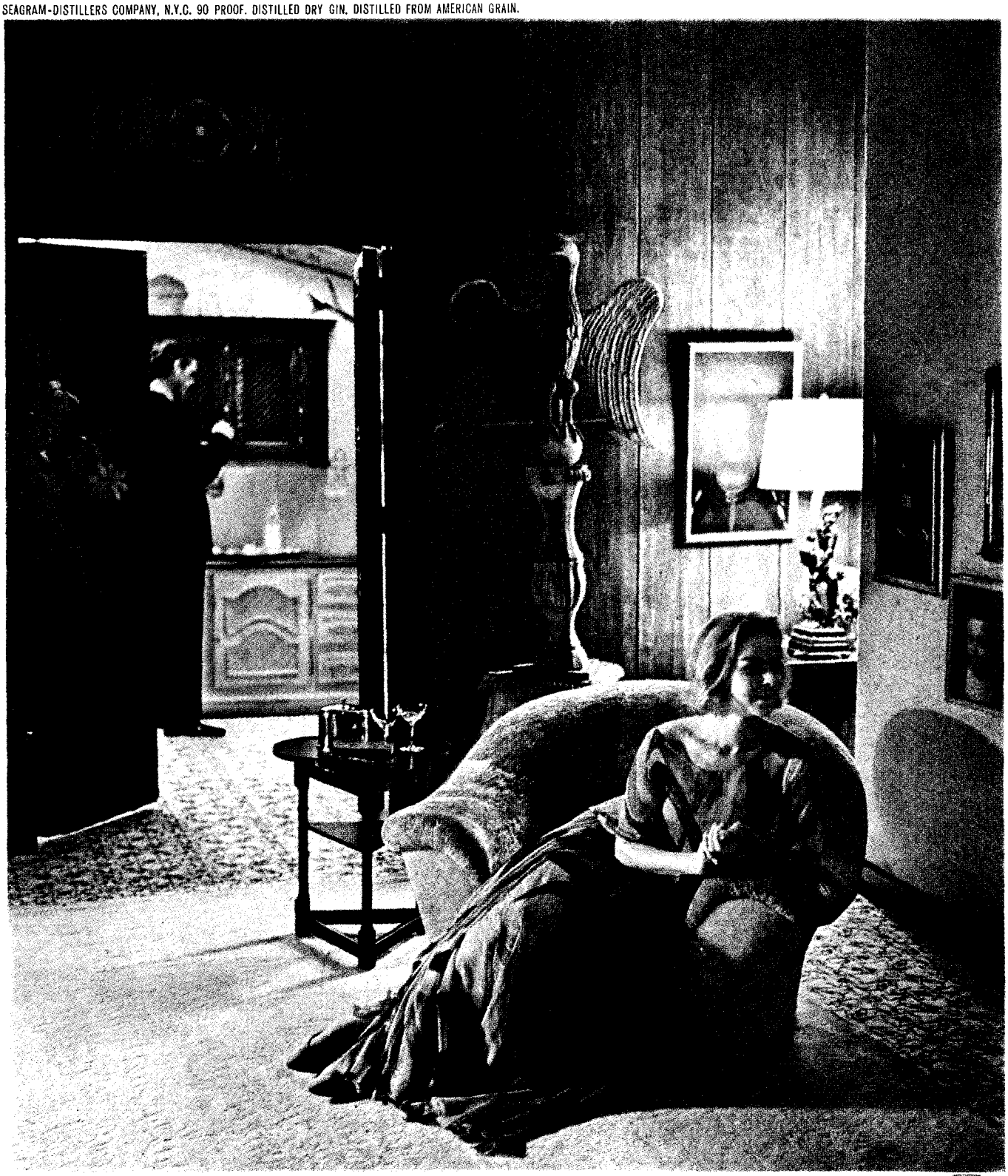
RED RIVALRY IN THE BLACK CONTINENT

THE REPORTER



PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SEAGRAM-DISTILLERS COMPANY, N.Y.C. 90 PROOF. DISTILLED DRY GIN. DISTILLED FROM AMERICAN GRAIN.



"George is a new man now that everyone loves his martinis"

(Same recipe. Same vermouth. Same man. Only the gin is different: Seagram's!)

Seagram's Extra Dry Gin goes through a costly process to remove gin perfumery and sweetness. As it turns dryer it turns a light natural amber. It gives a martini (and its maker!) dash and dazzle, snap and sparkle, the brilliant glow of success. SEAGRAM'S EXTRA DRY GIN BELONGS WITH GRACIOUS LIVING

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPORTER

THE MAGAZINE OF FACTS AND IDEAS

MAX ASCOLI, *Editor and Publisher*

Executive Editor, Philip Horton • *Managing Editor*, Robert Bingham
Senior Editor, Gouverneur Paulding • *Washington Editor*, Douglass Cater
Assistant Managing Editor, Derek Morgan • *Art Director*, Reg Massie
Staff Writers: Claire Sterling, Marya Mannes,
Edmond Taylor, Meg Greenfield, George Bailey
Assistant to the Managing Editor, Louisa Messolonghites • *Librarian*, Ruth Ames

General Manager, John J. Borghi
Circulation Manager, George Hinckley • *Director of Advertising*, Harry R. Davis
Director of Promotion, Shirley Katzander • *Production Manager*, Ann Hollyday Sharp

Published by The Reporter Magazine Company
Nathan W. Levin, President

VOLUME 26, NO. 2 **JANUARY 18, 1962**

THE REPORTER'S NOTES 14

Afro-Asia and Us

CAN WE BE LESS THAN SAINTLY?—AN EDITORIAL . . . . . *Max Ascoli* 22
RED RIVALRY IN THE BLACK CONTINENT . . . . . *Gordon Brook-Shepherd* 23
AN INDIAN REPORT ON THE GOAN CRISIS . . . . . *B. Shiva Rao* 26
AFGHANISTAN: A HOUSE WITH NO DOORS . . . . . *Denis Warner* 28

At Home & Abroad

MR. MCNAMARA REMODELS THE PENTAGON . . . . . *Jack Raymond* 31
IS OUR PATENT LAW OUT OF DATE? . . . . . *Douglass Cater* 36
THE CASE OF THE TIRED TORY . . . . . *Peregrine Worsthorne* 37
HOW DID SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA GET THAT WAY? . . . . . *Bruce Bliven* 39

Views & Reviews

LET'S SAVE LATIN FROM THE LATIN DEPARTMENT . . . . *Richard M. Gummere, Jr.* 41
A PLAY FROM THE SOVIET UNDERGROUND . . . . . *Maurice Friedberg* 43
RECORD NOTES . . . . . *Roland Gelatt* 46
Books:
NUCLEAR MORALITY . . . . . *William Lee Miller* 48
WHO STARTED THE WAR? . . . . . *Frank Freidel* 50
IDEALS WITHOUT IDEAS . . . . . *Martin Greenberg* 53
THE REPORTER PUZZLE 51

Editorial and Business Offices:

660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

Manuscripts or artwork submitted to The Reporter should be accompanied by addressed envelope and return postage. The publisher assumes no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts or artwork.

THE REPORTER, January 18, 1962, Volume 26, No. 2. Second-class postage paid at New York, New York, and at Dayton, Ohio. Published every other Thursday except for omission of two summer issues by The Reporter Magazine Company, 660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

© 1962 by The Reporter Magazine Company. All rights reserved under Pan-American Copyright Convention.

Subscription prices, United States and U. S. Possessions: One year $6, Two years $9.50, Three years $12. Additional postage for Canada and Pan-American Union, $.50 per year; all other countries, $1.00 per year. Please give four weeks' notice when changing address, giving old and new address. **Send notice of undelivered copies on Form 3579 to: The Reporter, McCall St., Dayton 1, Ohio.** Indexed in *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

WORLD READERSHIP

The Manchester Guardian Weekly is respected throughout the world for its competent comment and coverage. American newspaper publishers voted it the best of all foreign newspapers in living up to the finest journalistic ideals. For a 19-week trial or a 1-year subscription fill out the attached coupon. The Manchester Guardian Weekly, printed in Manchester, England, will be flown to you every Thursday by Jet.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
20 East 53rd Street, New York 22, N.Y.
☐ 19 week trial, $3 ☐ 1 year (52 issues), $8
name
address
city state
Please write your check for the necessary amount and enclose it with this coupon.

TIRAGE MONDIAL

L'Hebdomadaire Manchester Guardian est respecté à travers le monde pour la compétence de ses commentaires et son envergure. Les éditeurs des journaux américains l'ont décrété le meilleur journal étranger pour sa réalisation des plus hauts idéals journalistiques. Remplissez la fiche ci-joint pour un abonnement d'essai de 19 semaines ou d'un an. L'Hebdomadaire Manchester Guardian vous sera expédié par Jet tous les jeudis.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
20 East 53rd Street, New York 22, N.Y.
☐ 19 semaines—$3.00
☐ un an (52 numéros)—$8.00
nom
adresse
ville état
Veuillez établir un chèque avec la somme nécessaire et le joigner à la fiche.

WELTLESERSCHAFT

Die Manchester Guardian Weekly ist in der ganzen Welt wegen der Glaubwürdigkeit ihrer Kommentare und der Vollständigkeit ihrer Nachrichten geachtet. Amerikanische Zeitungsverleger haben sie als die beste aller ausländischen Zeitungen wegen ihrer Verwirklichung der höchsten journalistischen Ideale gewählt. Für eine 19-Wochenprobe oder ein 1 jähriges Abonnement füllen Sie den beiliegenden Abonnementsschein aus. Die in Manchester England gedruckte Manchester Guardian Weekly wird Ihnen jeden Donnerstag durch Düsenflugzeug zustellt werden.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
20 East 53rd Street, New York 22, N.Y.
☐ 19-Wochenprobe—$3.00
☐ 1 jähriges Abonnement—$8.00
(52 Nummer)
name
anschrift
stadt staat
Bitte schreiben Sie einen Scheck über den entsprechenden Betrag, und fügen Sie ihn mit diesem Schein bei.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

☞ "The most illuminating diagnosis I have seen of the predicament of the writer in the Soviet society."
—*Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.*

☞ "Should be required reading for every American."
—*Allen Tate*

On Socialist Realism

By ABRAM TERTZ

A bold attack on the very foundation of all Soviet art—socialist realism. Written anonymously behind the Iron Curtain by the author of *The Trial Begins*. $2.95, now at your bookstore

PANTHEON

NEXT 90 DAYS CAN CHANGE YOUR LIFE

A Warning from The Wall Street Journal

You are living in a period of rapid changes. The next 90 days will be filled with opportunities and dangers.

Fortune will smile on some men. Disaster will dog the footsteps of others.

Because reports in The Wall Street Journal come to you DAILY, you get fastest possible warning of any new trend affecting your business and personal income. You get facts in time to protect your interests or seize a profit.

If you think The Journal is just for millionaires, you are WRONG! It is a wonderful aid to salaried men making $7,500 to $30,000 a year. It is valuable to owners of small businesses. Read it 90 days and see what it can do for YOU.

To assure speedy delivery to you anywhere in the U.S., The Journal is printed daily in seven cities from coast to coast. It costs $24 a year, but in order to acquaint you with The Journal, we make this offer: You can get a Trial Subscription for 3 months for $7. Just send this ad with check for $7. Or tell us to bill you. Address: The Wall Street Journal, 44 Broad Street, New York 4, New York.

RM-1-18

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

THEY CALL IT Afro-Asia, and if we were Asians we would resent this hyphenated name bitterly, for there is little in common between the old and glorious civilizations of Asia and the very primitive conditions of the African continent. However, if our information is correct, the term was invented by the representatives of the Asian nations at the U.N. at a time when they were looking for a constituency in Africa. They must have had their fill by now. Anyway, in his editorial **Max Ascoli** deplores what he considers the celestially unselfish qualities of our policies and particularly of our economic assistance in the developing nations.

But in one respect at least, the continent of Africa can offer us something of a consolation, for according to **Gordon Brook-Shepherd,** a correspondent for the London *Sunday Telegraph,* the Chinese and the Russians seem to be engaged in a ruthless, brotherly competition there. We have always been leery about commenting on the dissent between Moscow and Peking, never knowing whether it was a put-up job and greatly discounting any report that Khrushchev might at any moment rush to Washington and ask for our assistance against that big bully Mao. The situation in Africa does not radically change our attitude, although, as we have said, it is certainly not unpleasant to see the two great Communist powers—perhaps in fun, perhaps not—exchanging blows. . . . The recent Indian invasion of Goa and the other two Portuguese enclaves on the subcontinent is still very much of a mystery. Nehru has repeatedly stated that he would never use force except in defense. What—or who—made him change his mind? Perhaps, as **B. Shiva Rao,** formerly a member of India's parliament, suggests, it was Nehru's minister of defense, V. K. Krishna Menon, with whom we are familiar in this country. We know him as a sort of devilish character of whom it can be said that he is not very different from what he looks. . . . Neutrals are very fashionable in our day, and of course no two neutrals are alike. Afghanistan is a country that can manage to survive only if it is neutralized by equal assistance or equal pressure from opposite sides. Once it was Russia and Britain, and now it is Russia and Pakistan, a close ally of the United States. **Denis Warner** is an Australian journalist in the Far East.

THERE HAVE BEEN eight Secretaries of Defense since the Defense Department was formed in 1947. It is generally agreed that no holder of the office has exerted a more dynamic influence than Robert Strange McNamara, one of President Kennedy's most successful appointees. **Jack Raymond,** a reporter with the Washington bureau of the New York *Times,* reviews McNamara's record to date. . . . The Federal government is the greatest patron of inventions the world has known. But our Washington editor, **Douglass Cater,** reports that the question of who owns an invention made under Federal patronage and with Federal research moneys is unresolved among government departments. Vice-Admiral Hyman J. Rickover has entered the fight over the double standards existing between, for example, the Atomic Energy Commission and the Defense Department on patent rights. . . . Harold Macmillan, who replaced Anthony Eden as Prime Minister and head of Britain's Conservative Party after the Suez disaster, performed remarkable feats in restoring confidence in the Conservative government. Now it appears that Macmillan himself is in trouble—not because of the rather disorganized opposition party, but because his own followers are having to face the facts of Britain's economic position, which negate many of their most cherished beliefs. . . . **Peregrine Worsthorne** is with the London *Sunday Telegraph.* . . . **Bruce Bliven** is the former editor of the *New Republic.*

Richard M. Gummere, Jr., who in his time has taught Latin himself, is now director of admissions at Bard College. . . . **Maurice Friedberg** is in charge of the Russian Division at Hunter College. His *Russian Classics in Soviet Jackets* will be published in the spring by the Columbia University Press. . . . **Roland Gelatt** is editor of *High Fidelity.* . . . **William Lee Miller,** a former member of our staff, now teaches at the Yale Divinity School. . . . **Frank Freidel,** professor of history at Harvard, has completed three volumes of what promises to be the definitive biography of Franklin Roosevelt (Little, Brown). . . . **Martin Greenberg** edited and translated *The Marquise of O——— and Other Stories,* by Heinrich von Kleist (Criterion).

Our cover for this issue, an impression of winter on the Potomac, is by **Ronald Christensen.**

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Outstanding new books . . . at worthwhile savings

The LITERARY GUILD invites you to accept

Any 4

of these books for only $1.96

if you join the Literary Guild now and agree to accept at least four selections or alternates during the coming year.

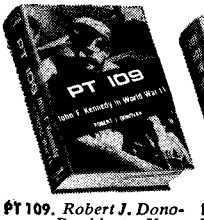
* ON THE SATISFACTION-GUARANTEED OFFER DESCRIBED BELOW

HERE is a most unusual offer from the Literary Guild. Just request (on the coupon) any 4 of the books on this page for free examination. Then, if you wish, keep all four books for only $1.96 (total value in publishers' original editions $17.90 to $41.50) and start enjoying all the benefits of membership. But even should you decide *not* to continue membership, you may still keep any one of the books free.

As a member, you enjoy many advantages. **Savings:** selections cost only $2 each in Guild editions (some extra-value books are priced higher), even though the publishers' editions sell for $3.95, $4.95 and even more. **Guidance:** each month the Literary Guild selects the most interesting, entertaining and important books available. **Advance reviews:** new selections and alternates are reviewed in "Wings," sent to you free every month.

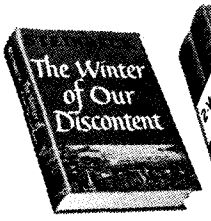
You need take as few as 4 books during the coming year—out of nearly 60 selections and alternates. You never pay in advance; you are billed only the special Club price plus shipping for any book you decide to keep. If you continue after purchasing 4 selections, you will receive a free bonus book for each additional 4 books you accept. Mail the coupon without money for your four books now—and keep one of them FREE even if you decide to return the others and reject membership.

NOTE: The Guild Editions shown are sometimes reduced in size, but texts are full-length—not a word is cut!

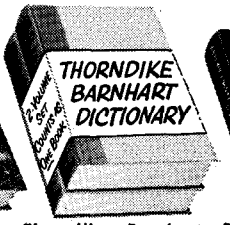


PT 109. *Robert J. Donovan.* President Kennedy's own "profile in courage" as a World War II torpedo-boat skipper. Pub. ed., $4.95

BUT NOT IN SHAME: The 6 Months After Pearl Harbor. "Deeply moving . . . extraordinarily graphic."—N. Y. Times. Pub. ed., $6.50

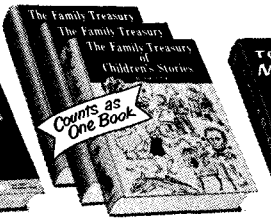


WINTER OF OUR DISCONTENT. *John Steinbeck.* Blistering novel about the mad scramble for success. "Steinbeck's finest since The Grapes of Wrath." Pub. ed., $4.50

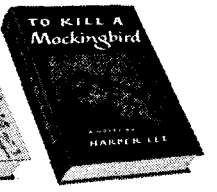


Thorndike - Barnhart DICTIONARY. New, revised, deluxe edition in lifetime binding. 2 vols. Pub. ed., $10.00

BEFORE I SLEEP. *Dr. Tom Dooley.* The beloved healer's last days . . . dramatic and inspiring. Pub. ed. $4.50

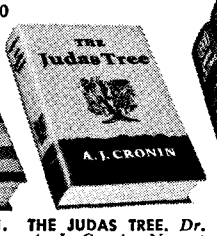


FAMILY TREASURY OF CHILDREN'S STORIES. *Ed. by P. R. Evans.* 250 pictures, 1024 p. 3 vols. Pub. ed., $7.50

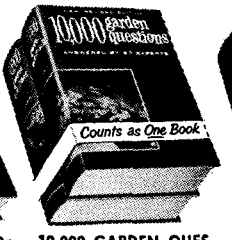


TO KILL A MOCKINGBIRD. *Harper Lee.* "Best first novel of the year" that won Pulitzer Prize — a great best-seller. Pub. ed., $3.95

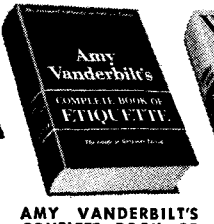
PROMISE AT DAWN. *Romain Gary.* Best-selling memoir about extraordinary mother and her famous son. Pub. ed., $5.00



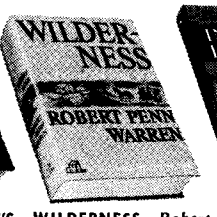
THE JUDAS TREE. *Dr. A. J. Cronin.* Newest best-seller by author of *Citadel, Keys of the Kingdom.* Pub. ed., $4.95



10,000 GARDEN QUESTIONS. *F. F. Rockwell, Ed.* Giant guide by 20 experts. 400 illus., 1,400 pages. 2 vols. Pub. ed., $5.95



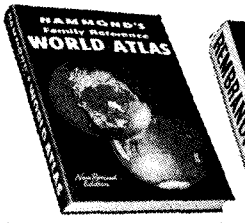
AMY VANDERBILT'S COMPLETE BOOK OF ETIQUETTE. America's foremost social authority. Pub. ed., $5.50



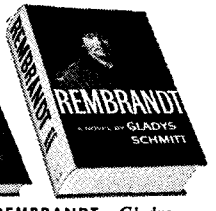
WILDERNESS. *Robert Penn Warren.* To prove himself, a young immigrant fights for the Union. Pub. ed., $4.95

LADIES' HOME JOURNAL BOOK OF INTERIOR DECORATION *by Elizabeth Halsey.* 293 illus. Pub. ed., $10.00

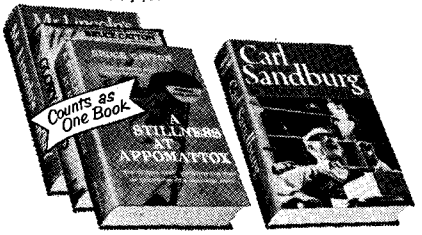
Milton Cross' Encyclopedia of GREAT COMPOSERS & THEIR MUSIC. Lives of 78 immortals. New, revised ed. 2 vols. in 1. Pub. ed., $5.95



HAMMOND'S FAMILY REFERENCE WORLD ATLAS. Complete, with color maps of every state, country. Pub. ed., $5.95



REMBRANDT. *Gladys Schmitt.* Best seller about the strange genius-artist. Pub. ed., $5.95



THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC. *Bruce Catton.* 3 vol. trilogy: *Mr. Lincoln's Army; Glory Road; A Stillness at Appomattox.* Pub. orig.ed's. total $14

CARL SANDBURG. *Harry Golden.* Portrait of a great poet who could happen "only in America" — by his close friend. Pub. ed., $5.00

LITERARY GUILD OF AMERICA, Inc.,
Publishers, Garden City, New York

* Guarantee: YOU MAY KEEP ANY ONE OF THE FOUR BOOKS ABSOLUTELY FREE

-even if you decide not to accept membership after examining the trial package!

Special Guarantee of Satisfaction: Should you wish not to accept membership after examining your 4 books, keep any one of them as our "thank you" for considering this offer, return the other 3 within 10 days, pay nothing, and your enrollment will be cancelled.

LITERARY GUILD OF AMERICA

Dept. 2-REN-1, Garden City, N.Y.

Please enroll me as a member of the Literary Guild and send me the FOUR books checked, for which you will bill me only $1.96, plus shipping. Send me "Wings" every month. I will notify you in advance if I do not wish to receive the Guild selection described, or if I wish to receive an alternate selection or no book at all that month. My only obligation is to accept at least four selections or alternates during the coming year at only $2.00 each plus shipping, regardless of the higher publishers' prices, unless I choose an extra-value selection at a higher price. If I continue after I have purchased 4 selections, I will receive a free Bonus book for each 4 additional books I accept. I may resign my membership at any time after purchasing four books.

MR.
MRS. .....
MISS (Please print)

ADDRESS .....

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

TO RESIDENTS OF CANADA: Selection Price, $2.20 plus shipping. Address: LITERARY GUILD (CANADA), 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ont. Offer good in Continental U.S.A. and Canada only.

Check Four:

- ☐ **Army of the Potomac—Set (1)**
- ☐ **Before I Sleep (2)**
- ☐ **Carl Sandburg (3)**
- ☐ **Promise at Dawn (4)**
- ☐ **Great Composers (5)**
- ☐ **T-B Desk Dictionary—Set (9)**
- ☐ **10,000 Garden Questions—Set (29)**
- ☐ **Rembrandt (30)**
- ☐ **But Not in Shame (48)**
- ☐ **Children's Stories—Set (51)**
- ☐ **To Kill a Mockingbird (55)**
- ☐ **PT 109 (133)**
- ☐ **L. H. J. Interior Decor. (138)**
- ☐ **Judas Tree (152)**
- ☐ **Hammond's Atlas (155)**
- ☐ **Wilderness (157)**
- ☐ **Winter of Our Discontent (159)**
- ☐ **Amy Vanderbilt Etiquette (230)**

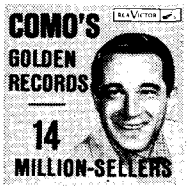
12-G567

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reader's Digest MUSIC INC invites you to choose from this exciting new list of 60 superb recordings

950 and **950-A.** The actual concert recorded live!

Two-record set, counts as two selections. Write both numbers on coupon.



124. Prisoner of Love, Till the End of Time, Temptation, others.

224. "One of the outstanding performances."—High Fidelity

5. The biggest-selling classical L.P. of all time.

1. Also 10 more soothing instrumentals — While We're Young, others.

4. Younger Than Sp time, Some Ench Evening, 13 more

325. Monteux premiered this work and made it famous.

291. Rich Spanish Gypsy moods spun by the peerless guitarist.

123. Timeless! Celeste Aida, Vesti la giubba, etc. (Regular L.P. only)

311. Met's new sensation sings Puccini and Verdi arias.

154. 21 best-loved spirituals. Collector's item. (Reg. L.P.)

243. Plus: other Romberg delights sung by the late, great tenor.

312. So lively almost bounce off record.

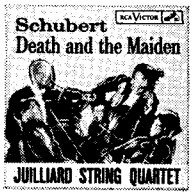
250. Epic film score containing original version of the hit theme.

324. The divine Schubert in glowing performances.

245. THE Sing-Along Spectacular! 33 great songs; song sheets, too.

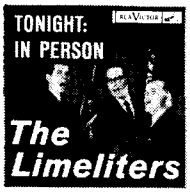
331. Perfect blend of excellent musicianship & sensitive direction.

332. Thrilling performances, historic recording. (Reg. L.P.)



326. Chamber music with melodies that flow like a river.

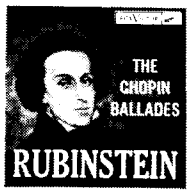
337. "Plenty of stance . . . sensiti —High Fidelity.



269. Nation's hottest folk-singing trio recorded in concert.

317. Mighty surge of tone blending a great organ with full orch.

318. The foremost masterpieces of French chamber music.



316. "A compendium of marvels...sublime," noted The Reporter.

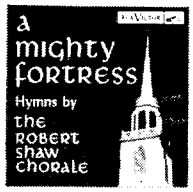
309. The powerful Tchaikovsky in most glowing performance.

323. Called the greatest harpsichord player of all time. (Reg. L.P.)

299. One of the brilliant piano cor tos ever recorded.

274. And 10 more by TV trumpet star with swing band/strings.

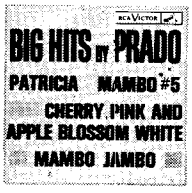
94. Also: I Believe, September Song, You'll Never Walk Alone, etc.



294. Now the Day is Over, Fairest Lord Jesus, others.

320. A stunning modern work in glorious modern sound.

313. Definitive recording of a superbly romantic masterpiece.



281. And 8 more of his top Latin dance band hits in "new sound."

308. Haydn's most mous, familiar and warding symphonie

951; 951A; 951B.

INCLUDES 16-PAGE SOUVENIR PROGRAM

Collector's deluxe album! The most popular band leader who ever lived leads his star-studded orchestra featuring Marion Hutton, Tex Beneke, Ray Eberle, The Modernaires in 50 unforgettable numbers released for the first time. Reg. L.P. only.

This 3-record set counts as 3 selections. Enter each number in separate space on coupon.

307. A contemporary classic mixing drama and passion.

303. Brilliant violin of Heifetz glorifies this stirring score.

315. Electronic stereo reprocessing of one of his finest performances.

345. The great Basso of our time sings 8 arias. (Reg. L.P. only)

340. Fresh triumph "Virile . . . flowi . . . sensitive"—LI

338. Joyous affirmation of faith through power of great music.

314. The glory of Debussy's "Sea" splashed in hi-fi.

310. Pinnacle of art! "Passion and power." —N. Y. Times.

334. Stirring epic of immortal heroism in a thrilling performance.

335. The haunting m jestic score featur an exquisite vocal sol

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

you may have

Any 5 RCA Victor records stereo or regular L. P. for only $1.87

Prices charged by many dealers total up to $29.90

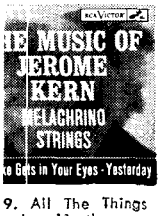
If you join the new RCA Victor Record Club now and agree to purchase only 5 records during the year ahead

. Piano, full orch. r The Rainbow, ht And Day, others.

. Cliburn and Rei- perform Schu- n's greatest work.

. Stunning sophis- ated film score of on River, 11 more.

. A trio of world- ous artists play 3 standing works.



9. All The Things u Are, 11 other cur- nt gems.

3. Colorful and re- shing as the change seasons.

341. New calypso al- bum Belafonte fans have waited 6 yrs. for.

93. Sophisticated dy, Deep Purple, St. uis Blues, more.

339. Brilliant, mas- terful interpretation by Heifetz and Reiner.

This 3-disc set counts as 3 selections... Enter each number separately on coupon.

952; 952A; 952B. Complete opera with li- bretto. Celebrated cast! Bravos from the critics: "The Turandot one has waited for, and it super- sedes all previous albums"—N.Y. Times. "It ranks as a milestone"—Hi/Fi Stereo Review

WHY DOES Reader's Digest Music make this generous offer? Simply to prove to you how economically your family can enjoy a new adventure in musical living. Now that Reader's Digest Music has taken over operation of the *new* RCA Victor Record Club, you can take your choice of the best-selling popular music of our time... the best-loved classical music of all time... for far less than you would normally expect to pay. Now, through the *new* RCA Victor Record Club, you can enjoy these seven benefits unequalled by any other record club.

1. Upon joining, you may have any 5 records for only $1.87, plus a small charge for handling and postage. You select one record FREE for each two you buy after fulfilling your introductory agreement—with a tremendous range of music from which to choose your dividends.

2. A fascinating new magazine, Reader's Digest Music Guide, free each month, edited by music experts and available exclusively to Club members.

3. You get the widest possible choice in selections... symphonic or popular, Broadway or light classical, jazz or opera... several hundred each year from the world-famous RCA catalog.

4. Records are selected by the editors of the Reader's Digest Music Guide, then pre-tested with panels of Club members to assure that all selections are ones Club members most want to own.

5. You can also acquire special records made for Club members only—records you cannot buy elsewhere at any price. They are superbly recorded by RCA to meet the exacting standards of Reader's Digest Music.

6. You'll like this convenient, error-free "armchair" shopping plan that lets you pay for your records *after* receiving them and *while* enjoying them.

7. If you are ever dissatisfied with any selection, you may return it within 10 days for full credit or exchange.

How The Club Brings You The Best In Music

EACH MONTH you will be offered a Featured Selection for the Division you join—either Popular or Classical. If you want this record, you need do nothing. It will come to you automatically. Or, you may choose any other record you wish from *either* Division, or take none at all that particular month.

Shown on these pages are records typical of the high quality and unusual variety available through the *new* RCA Victor Record Club. Select the five you want most. To begin enjoying the many benefits of membership, fill in the handy coupon today.

FREE TO CLUB MEMBERS

a year's subscription to Reader's Digest Music Guide, edited by music experts chosen by Reader's Digest. Read articles like these *in the first issue:*

■ Say It With Music—All The World Will Listen ■ "Sing From The Heart," I Told Perry Como ■ Making Music Come Alive For Your Children ■ How Van Cliburn Recorded The "Emperor" Concerto

RCA VICTOR RECORD CLUB, 124-18
c/o Reader's Digest Music, Inc.
P. O. Box 3, Village Station, New York 14, New York

Send me the 5 RCA Victor records whose numbers I have filled in below, billing me only $1.87. I agree to purchase during the year ahead, 5 additional records, at the Manufacturer's Nationally Advertised Prices (usually $3.98 for Popular, $4.98 for Classical; stereo an additional $1.00). I understand a small handling and postage charge, plus sales/use taxes where applicable, will be added to each shipment. Thereafter, for every two additional records I purchase, I will receive a dividend record of my choice, FREE.

SEND ME THESE 5 RECORDS (Fill in numbers here)

[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] (25)

Enroll me in the following Division of the Club:

☐ CLASSICAL ☐ POPULAR

(Check only one)

☐ Check here if you have **stereo equipment** and wish these and future selections in **stereo.**

Name .....
(please print)

Address .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

If you wish membership credited to an authorized RCA Victor Dealer, please fill in below.

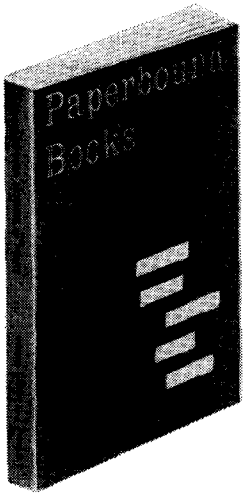
Dealer .....

Send no money. A bill will be mailed. Offer applies only in the U.S., its possessions and Canada. Canadian residents write RCA Victor Record Club, c/o Reader's Digest, 215 Redfern Avenue, Westmount, Quebec.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OVERWHELMED by the profusion of paperbacks? let this guide to 15,000

PAPERBOUND BOOKS in print...



keep you current on what's available. It's a quarterly guide that lists almost all the active titles from just about every paperback publisher. With it you can locate the books you want by author, by title, or selectively by subject in the three complete indexes included in each issue. Look for paperbacks in all fields: art, science, literature, history, etc. — get the publisher, code number, price.

Fully revised four times a year — Winter, Spring, Summer & Fall. Price on subscription $8 per year; single copies $3 net postpaid.

R.R. BOWKER CO. ■ Suite 310, 62 W. 45 St., New York 36, N.Y.

☐ *I enclose $3 per copy for the current issue*
☐ *I enclose $8 for the four quarterly issues — to be sent automatically as published*

Name .....
Address .....
City ..... Zone ..... State .....

Subscribe & Save

DRESS AND ACCESSORIES BY SAKS FIFTH AVENUE

Luxurious adventure—a dram of Drambuie! Made with a base of finest Scotch whisky, and originally the personal liqueur of Prince Charles Edward, Drambuie has been made in Scotland since 1745 from Bonnie Prince Charlie's secret recipe.

Drambuie

The cordial with the Scotch whisky base

80 PROOF

IMPORTED BY W. A. TAYLOR & CO., N. Y., N. Y. SOLE DISTRIBUTORS FOR THE U.S.A.

CORRESPONDENCE

FALLOUT SHELTERS

To the Editor: Nicholas Rosa's "The Case for Fallout Shelters" (*The Reporter,* December 21, 1961) is a beam of clarifying light dispelling foggy notions. We dare not ignore the possibility of attack and we must not be defeatist about survival. Mature, calm preparation for any alternative is indicated while striving mightily for an honorable peace.

ELMER L. ANDERSEN
Governor of Minnesota

To the Editor: Although it is good that he is in favor of fallout shelters, I feel that Mr. Rosa needs a little education himself about the effects of nuclear attack. In general, he tends to exaggerate certain of the post-shelter difficulties that will be encountered. Examples are:

(a) "Nuclear bombs would start firestorms wherever they exploded." A firestorm is a relatively rare occurrence. Of thirty-seven opportunities in the fire raids on Germany, only four developed as firestorms. Only one of two atomic attacks on cities in Japan resulted in a firestorm. Present knowledge indicates that the areas of this country that could support a firestorm are very small indeed.

(b) "Fallout would make many fields unusable for one to four or more growing seasons." The fallout particles deposited in heavy fallout areas are relatively insoluble and are deficient in Strontium 90. Recent experimental work and theoretical analyses suggest that the potential effect on agriculture is very much less than previously supposed.

WALMER E. STROPE
Director of Research
Assistant Secretary of Defense
Washington

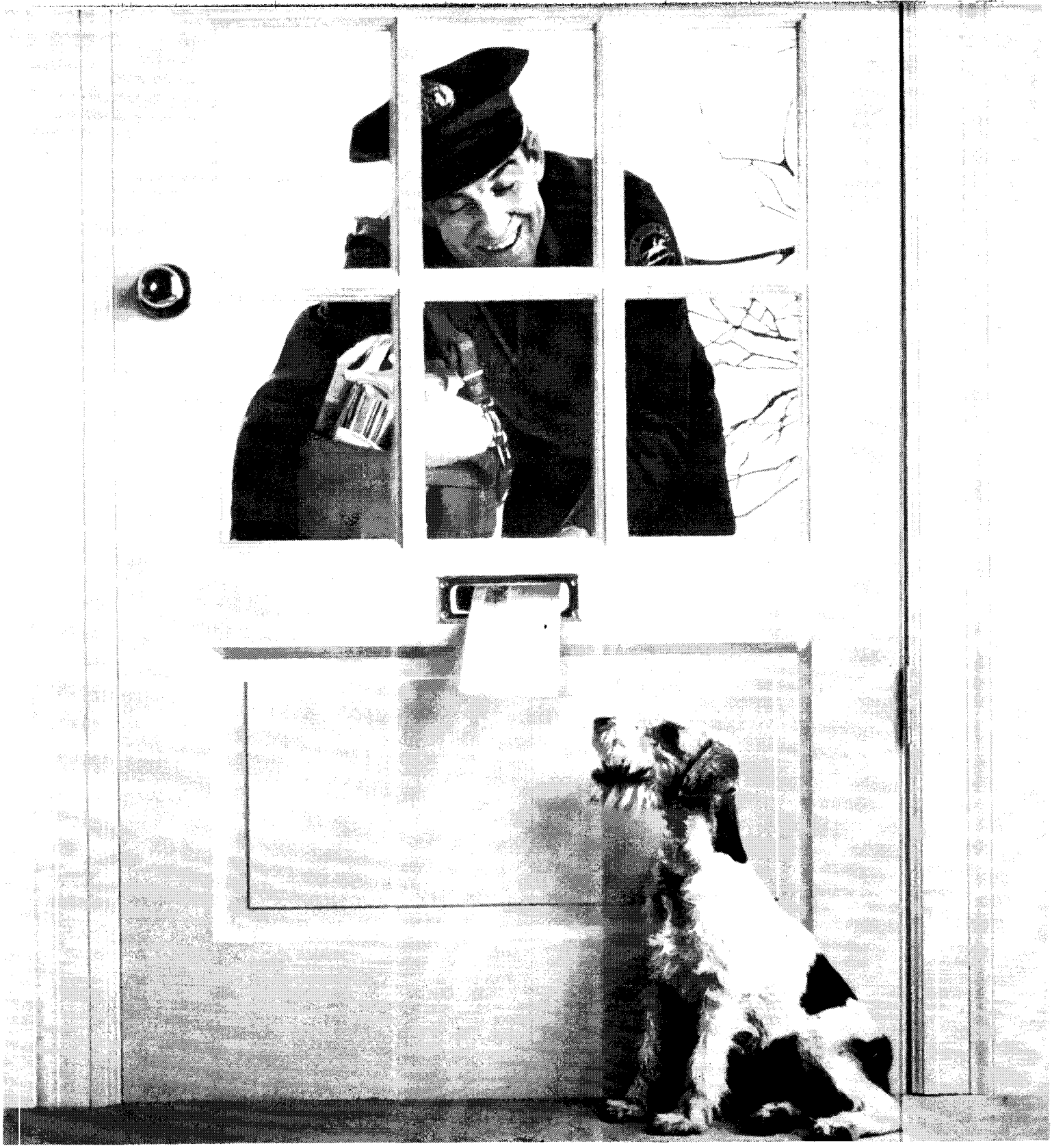
To the Editor: You have performed a real service in presenting a straightforward and sober consideration of those aspects of the question which are all too frequently glossed over in recent writings.

As one who is deeply concerned for the state of our home-front defense, I want to express my thanks to both you and Mr. Rosa.

FRANK B. ELLIS
Executive Office of the President
Office of Emergency Planning
Washington

To the Editor: I take issue not so much with what Mr. Rosa says as the condescending way in which he says it. As a Christian clergyman I would like to believe that I am entitled to differ with Mr. Rosa's thesis without personal disparagement. I have a very good idea "of what 'taking chances' entails." I like to think I, too, am informed as to the nature of radiation

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Dividend news for 29,000,000 Americans

This month the nation's mailmen will help deliver the good news of dividends on savings accounts in Insured Savings and Loan Associations to 29,000,000 savers —and the number of *such* savers is growing at the rate of 10,000 a working day. By constantly encouraging thrift, Insured Savings and Loan Associations help millions of individuals towards their goal of financial *self-reliance.*

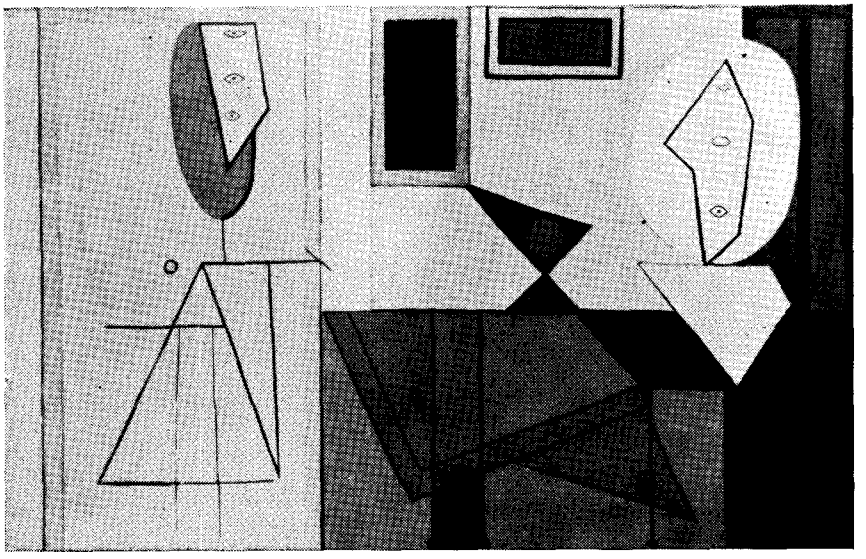
FEDERAL SAVINGS AND LOAN INSURANCE CORPORATION · SAFETY OF YOUR SAVINGS · INSURED · UP TO $10,000

SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS

©1962 THE SAVINGS AND LOAN FOUNDATION, INC., 1111 E ST., N.W., WASHINGTON 4, D.C.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Can you see any similarity between



TO THE UNDISCERNING EYE these paintings—one by Picasso, the other by Vermeer—appear to be as unrelated as any two works of art could be. To the knowing however, there are striking similarities between them, quite as obvious as their differences. In fact, the Picasso work, to quote from one of the Metropolitan Museum Seminars in Art, "is such a close parallel to the Vermeer that it might almost have been painted to demonstrate how the Vermeer could be translated into abstract terms."

Knowing what to look for when you stand before great works of art obviously adds immeasurably to your enjoyment; indeed,

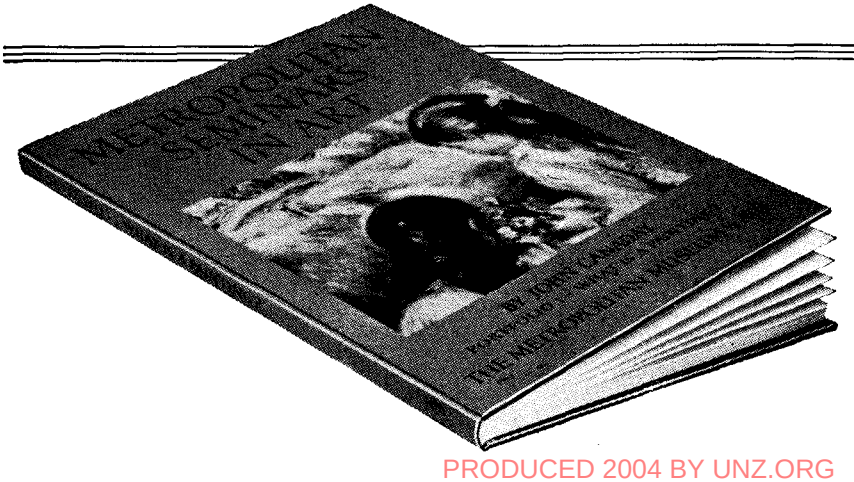
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

INVITES YOU TO ACCEPT FOR TWO WEEKS' EXAMINATION

THE FIRST PORTFOLIO OF

ART SEMINARS IN THE HOME

PUBLISHED AND ADMINISTERED BY THE BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB



CONTENTS OF THE COURSE

APPRECIATION OF ART · 12 PORTFOLIOS

WHAT IS A PAINTING?

REALISM • The Painter and the World Around Us

EXPRESSIONISM • The Painter and the World He Creates

ABSTRACTION • The Painter and the World We Never See

PICTURES AS PATTERNS

PICTURES AS STRUCTURES

ARRANGEMENT AS EXPRESSION

FRESCO

TEMPERA AND OIL

WATER COLOR, PASTEL AND PRINTS

THE ARTIST AS A SOCIAL CRITIC

THE ARTIST AS A VISIONARY

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hese two paintings?

eing pictures with a thoroughly informed background can be one f life's most rewarding experiences. Yet it is surprising how many ıltivated persons have cut themselves off from this rare form of leasure. Visiting a museum, they see nothing beyond what the aintings are "about"—and frequently they are unsure even of that.

Anyone who suffers from this sort of bafflement probably has ever had the opportunity to take a good art appreciation course at a niversity or to attend a clarifying series of lectures at a museum. It as to remedy this situation that The Metropolitan Museum of Art eveloped its unusual program of assisted self-education in art.

More than 200,000 families throughout the country have now subcribed to this remarkable program. The opportunity suggested bow is made to acquaint you with the thorough nature of the course nd particularly its unique method of **learning by comparison.**

THE IDEA: **A well-rounded and comprehensive course of lectures in the appreciation and history of art, *in which the whole family can participate separately or together.* . . . You learn by comparison among paintings, utilizing no fewer than 288 large full-color prints of great works. . . . It is like being conducted over a period of time through all the world's museums by an experienced lecturer who makes clear the fundamental things to look for in whatever paintings you may ever see.**

EACH LESSON comes in the form of a portfolio, the core of which is the lecture. But in each portfolio is a pocket containing twelve large full-color reproductions. These pictures are provided separately so that they can be compared side by side with one another, to clarify whatever points the lecturer aims to illuminate. They have a great advantage, however, over reproductions thrown upon a screen in a lecture hall: they can be studied for as long as one wants, and can be referred to again and again. Another advantage is that members of a family can conveniently "take the course" either separately or simultaneously—husband and wife, parent and teen-age child.

The Seminars concentrate first on clarifying basic principles, so that the layman can formulate *his own informed opinion* of the works of art he sees. Then the full panorama of Western painting is unfolded chronologically, beginning with prehistoric painting and continuing up to the "modern art" of today.

HOW THE COURSE OPERATES · The price of each portfolio is $3.75 (plus a small charge for mailing expense), including the twelve separate reproductions. They are sent at four-week intervals but the subscriber may study the course at whatever rate he chooses. He may, if he wishes, cancel his subscription at any time, without proceeding with the complete course.

HISTORY OF ART · 12 PORTFOLIOS

THE CLASSICAL BACKGROUND
THE MIDDLE AGES · Man and Mystery
THE EARLY RENAISSANCE IN ITALY
RENAISSANCE ART Classical Myths and Forms
THE HIGH RENAISSANCE
BAROQUE ART
THE 18TH CENTURY
EARLY 19TH CENTURY The Classical-Romantic Conflict
REALISM · Revolt Against the Salon and the Discovery of Nature
THE FLOWERING OF IMPRESSIONISM
MODERN ART
CONTEMPORARY ART

ART SEMINARS IN THE HOME, c/o Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc.
345 Hudson Street, New York 14, N. Y. S9-1

PLEASE enroll me as a subscriber to ART SEMINARS IN THE HOME and send me Portfolio No. 1: *What Is a Painting?* for a two-week trial examination. If at the end of that time I decide not to continue the course, I may return the portfolio, canceling the subscription. If I retain it, you will bill me $3.75 for it (plus a small charge for mailing expense) and for each of the remaining portfolios in the Seminars as it is received. I may cancel this subscription any time.

MR. / MRS. / MISS .....
(Please print plainly)

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

PLEASE NOTE: In Canada, the price of each portfolio is $4.25 (plus a small charge for mailing expense).

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Princeton Books

ELEMENTARY PARTICLES

A Short History of Some Discoveries in Atomic Physics

By Chen Ning Yang, Co-winner of the Nobel Prize in Physics, 1957. Dr. Yang reviews the history of our knowledge of elementary particles, emphasizing important findings, and shows how theory and experiment interact to extend human knowledge in unexpected ways. $2.75

CAPITAL IN THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

Its Formation and Financing

National Bureau of Economic Research

Studies in Capital Formation and Financing, No. 9

By Simon Kuznets. An examination of long-term trends in capital formation and financing emphasizing the principal capital-using sectors of the U.S. economy: Agriculture, mining, manufacturing, public utilities, non-farm residential real estate, and government. $12.00

POLITICAL JUSTICE

The Use of Legal Procedure for Political Ends

By Otto Kirchheimer, Professor of Political Science, New School for Social Research. A study of the uneasy balance between abstract justice and political expediency with analyses of the Nuremberg, Smith Act, and Communist purge trials. $8.50

CATHOLICISM AND CRISIS IN MODERN FRANCE

French Catholic Groups at the Threshold of the Fifth Republic

By William Bosworth, Department of Political Science, Hunter College. Official archives, magazine files, and direct interviews with key Catholic personalities supply the material for this detailed examination of the impact of Roman Catholicism on the internal and foreign affairs of France today. Charts, tables, maps, diagrams. $8.50

THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Theoretical Essays

Edited by Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba. A special hard-cover edition of the October, 1961, issue of World Politics devoted to fresh contemporary approaches to the theory of international relations. $5.00

At all bookstores

Princeton UNIVERSITY PRESS

Princeton, N. J.

sickness. I resent his patronizing conclusion that this is not so, "otherwise there is no way to explain how clergymen, columnists, and cocktail-party pundits can campaign against the very idea of shelters."

I cannot speak for the columnists or cocktail-party pundits, but as for Christians and clergymen, it just may be that the latter have reasons for their convictions that Mr. Rosa knows not of. It would behoove him to find out what they are. As it is, he falls into his own trap. Irritated by those who, he assumes, tend to be holier-than-thous, *he* is, clearly, more realistic, more knowledgeable, more to be believed than thou.

REVEREND GEORGE T. PETERS
First Presbyterian Church
Burlingame, California

To the Editor: There are only a few instances where Mr. Rosa's language requires any comment from me.

1. He describes a "strangely ravaged landscape, with the trees dead or dying, practically all useful plants gone, and the soil already eroding. . . ." There is really no statistical evidence from which such conclusions can be drawn, and if this description is accurate it would probably be limited to a very small area of the entire country.

2. There is a statement "Public shelters are worthwhile mainly as refuge for people caught away from home, and barred from reaching home . . ." The national shelter program is designed to bring into operation community shelter space to accommodate both daytime and nighttime population distributions, and it is our view that community shelters would be worthwhile for the bulk of the population, not solely for people caught away from home.

May I congratulate *The Reporter* and Mr. Rosa on a very fine article and for your support of our current civil-defense efforts.

JOSEPH ROMM
Director, Plans and Programs
Office of Civil Defense
Washington

To the Editor: The question is not shelters versus no shelters, but shelters for whom, by whom? Is responsibility for the defense of the civilian population to be abdicated by the Federal government in favor of a policy of every man for himself?

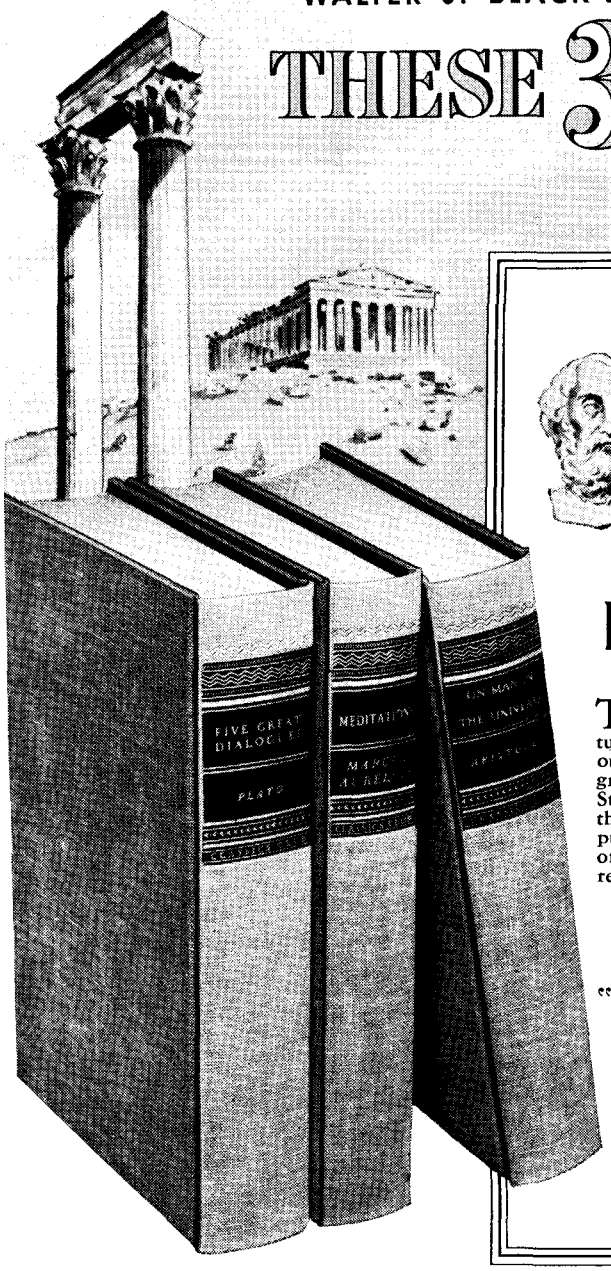
It is significant that for all his concern for the children who will needlessly die of radiation sickness, Mr. Rosa spares only one sentence for the children of those people "without the wherewithal" to build shelters. What kind of society is it that is willing to tie survival to the economic status of the individual? And what kind of society can possibly emerge afterwards that consists of those who, when not even under stress, can accept survival on this basis? If we who question the morality of this kind of civilian defense program seem "holier-than-thou,"

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WALTER J. BLACK'S CLASSICS CLUB INVITES YOU TO ACCEPT

THESE 3 *beautifully bound classics*

FOR ONLY $1.00 AS A NEW MEMBER



PLATO FIVE GREAT DIALOGUES

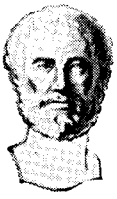
NOTHING short of amazing is the way this great classic (written more than two thousand years ago) hits so many nails squarely on the head today! Here, in the clearest reasoning in all literature, is the pure essence of how to get the best out of life — whether we possess worldly wealth or only the riches in our hearts and minds.

This beautiful edition contains the five great dialogues. In these conversations between friends — fresh, spontaneous, humorous, informal — you have "philosophy brought down from heaven to earth."

MARCUS AURELIUS MEDITATIONS

THROUGH these writings, you gaze as if through a powerful telescope at the Rome of eighteen centuries ago. You will be struck by resemblances to our own era as you read the wise Meditations of the great emperor-philosopher, Marcus Aurelius, the Stoic who found peace in traditional customs... the witty arguments of Lucian, the Skeptic, who punctured so many beliefs... the impassioned words of Justin, the Christian, willing to die for the new religion.

ARISTOTLE ON MAN IN THE UNIVERSE



"THE master of them that know," this supreme mind of the fabulous Golden Age of Greece was called by the poet Dante. He was so far ahead of his era that his ideas are astonishingly timely today. Nature, politics, art, drama, logic, morals — he explored them all, with a mind open to truth and a heart eager for understanding.

Included is the essence of his five celebrated essays. You will be amazed, as you read them, how this great philosopher discovered by pure reason so many truths upon which modern scientists and thinkers have only recently agreed.

Why The Classics Club Offers You This Superb Value

WILL YOU ADD these three volumes to your library — as an introductory offer made only to new members of The Classics Club? You are invited to join today . . . and to receive on approval beautiful editions of the world's greatest masterpieces.

These books, selected unanimously by distinguished literary authorities, were chosen because they offer the greatest enjoyment and value to the "pressed for time" men and women of today.

Why Are Great Books Called "Classics"?

A true "classic" is a living book that will never grow old. For sheer fascination it can rival the most thrilling modern novel. Have you ever wondered how the truly great books have *become* "classics"? First, because they are so readable. They would not have lived unless they were read; they would not have been read unless they were interesting. To be interesting they had to be easy to understand. And those are the very qualities which characterize these selections: *readability, interest, simplicity.*

Only Book Club of Its Kind

The Classics Club is different from all other book clubs. 1. It distributes to its members the world's classics at a low price. 2. Its members are not obligated to take any specific number of books. 3. Its volumes are luxurious De Luxe Editions — bound in the fine buckram ordinarily used for $5 and $10 bindings. They have tinted page tops; are richly stamped in genuine gold, which will retain its original lustre — books you and your children will read and cherish for years.

A Trial Membership Invitation to You

You are invited to accept a Trial Membership. With your first books will be sent an advance notice about future selections. You may reject any book you do not wish. You need not take any specific number of books—only the ones you want. No money in advance, no membership fees. You may cancel membership at any time.

Mail this Invitation Form now. Paper, printing, binding costs are rising. The low introductory price for these THREE beautiful volumes cannot be assured unless you respond promptly. THE CLASSICS CLUB, Roslyn, L. I., New York.

THE CLASSICS CLUB **BF**
Roslyn, L. I., New York

Please enroll me as a Trial Member and send me the THREE beautiful Classics Club Editions of PLATO, ARISTOTLE *and* MARCUS AURELIUS pictured above, which I may keep for only $1.00 plus a few cents mailing charges — the special new-member introductory price for ALL THREE volumes. If not completely satisfied after seven days' examination, I may return all 3 books and owe nothing.

As a member, I am not obligated to take any specific number of books, and I am to receive an advance description of future selections. Also, I may reject any volume before or after I receive it, and I may cancel my membership whenever I wish.

For each *future* Club volume I decide to keep I will send you the low price of only $2.89 plus a few cents mailing charges. *(Books shipped in U.S.A. only.)*

Mr. }
Mrs. } .....
Miss } (Please Print Plainly)

Address .....

Zone No.
City ..... (if any) ... State .....

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Clip coupon below for free 76-page Guide Book "Seeing Britain by Road." It gives suggested tours. Tells how to ship a car, hire a car or buy one over there.

British Travel Association
Box 311, 680 Fifth Avenue, New York 19, N. Y.
(In Canada—90 Adelaide Street West, Toronto)

Please send me your free 76-page Guide Book "Seeing Britain by Road"—and your special guide to inns.

NAME _____
PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

Britain welcomes you back to the long-lost joys of motoring

FOR every square mile of Britain there are over two miles of road. Apply this bald statistic to the long-lost joys of motoring and it fairly blossoms with promise.

It means that the motorist seldom has to return the same way he went. It also means that you scarcely ever have to hoof it when you spot something fascinating on the horizon. You can drive almost everywhere.

Tight little island

Next, consider how compact Britain is. The whole country is about the size of Wyoming. You forget your American ideas of distance. No place is more than seventy miles from the sea. You can visit a dozen great cathedral towns within 150 miles of London. Or you can leave London after breakfast and be in Scotland that evening.

How about those winding roads?

We admit that a road map of Britain looks like the work of a feckless spider. But don't let it worry you.

Far from making driving difficult, that wiggly web of roads and lanes helps you relax. It slows the pace. Cures monotony. And breeds good manners. Richard Joseph, the travel writer, swears that every British driver "acts as though he were being given a driving test by St. Peter himself."

What more can we say?—except to add that British bobbies, maps and road signs all speak English. And that Britain's two great motor clubs keep 3,500 uniformed motorcyclists permanently on patrol to help motorists in distress.

When should you go?

Most British drivers will tell you that Spring and Fall are by far the best seasons for touring. Domestic vacations are over. Roads are uncrowded. So are hotels. And, with over 60,000 roadside inns to choose from, you can tour as the spirit moves you, without tying yourself to a fixed schedule.

And here's the best of it. If you go in "Thrift Season" (from early Fall through early Spring) you can save up to 25 per cent on transatlantic fares and car hire.

Why not send for your free 76-page Guide Book today? We also include a special guide to British inns for good measure. Browse over both.

Then call your travel agent. He's a wizard with details.

it is only in contrast to the shocking callousness of those who do not question.

MRS. JUDITH E. ARONSON
Ithaca, New York

To the Editor: "The Case for Fallout Shelters" blatantly ignores a vital fact.

I refer to that simple intangible called "morale," which so effectively built the stockades against the Indians and the defenses of London, pushed the Germans across the desert, stopped them at Stalingrad, and has won every battle in history, every war.

Is it possible that a soft-living people whose conception of war is a TV image of violence is psychologically equipped for what may come?

ANNA LIPPMAN
Toronto

ECONOMIC POLICIES

To the Editor: I believe that Robert Lekachman ("Mr. Kennedy's Economic Policies," *The Reporter*, December 7, 1961) has made a highly interesting and knowledgeable analysis of the problems confronting the President in this field.

However, I must express my disagreement with the basic premise underlying the comparison between the economic programs of President Eisenhower and President Kennedy. I do not believe that these two economic programs were conceived under similar circumstances or with the same objectives in mind. Furthermore, they were applied with widely different effects on the confidence of the business community. President Eisenhower, faced with the second recession in eight years, applied measures to ease the problems of unemployment and mild stimulants to increase economic activity, while making policy statements and following other courses of action designed to demonstrate the basic strength of the economy and give confidence to the business community. President Kennedy, in response to another recession after two years and mounting evidence of persistent unemployment, took almost the same anti-recessionary measures—as pointed out by Mr. Lekachman—while persisting in his campaign slogans that pointed up a fear of economic weakness and lessened business confidence. As examples of the last, I cite his proposals for taxation of private overseas investment and the largely one-sided appeal—directed to management alone—for the preservation of the steel price line.

What would be the present prospects of our economy if the Russian had not shown up last spring and summer with his feats in space and his threats on Berlin, causing extraordinary expenditures and programming for defense and space activities, remains a question.

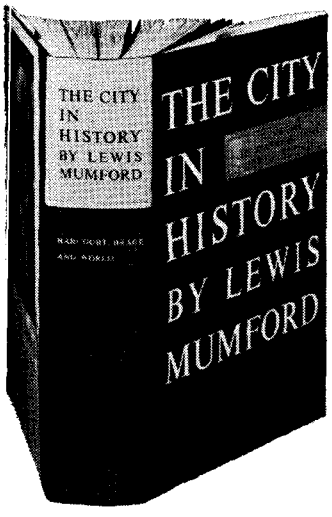
It is for that reason that the affirmative action to be taken in our economy by the administration is so valid.

JACOB K. JAVITS
United States Senate

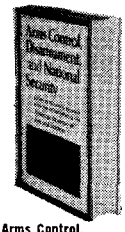
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Any 3 Books FREE

SAVINGS UP TO $35.55 WITH YOUR FIRST SELECTION

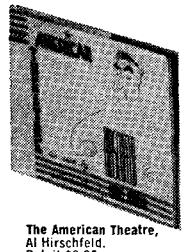


The City in History, Lewis Mumford. Retail $11.50. Member's price $6.95.



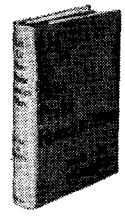
Arms Control, Disarmament, and National Security, edited by Donald G. Brennan. Retail $6.00.

The Affluent Society, John Kenneth Galbraith. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.50.

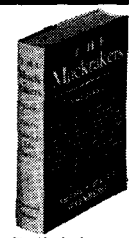


The American Theatre, Al Hirschfeld. Retail $9.95. Member's price $6.95.

A History of Sexual Customs, Dr. Richard Lewinsohn. Retail $5.95. Member's price $4.50.



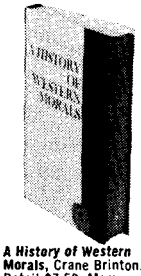
Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, James Agee and Walker Evans. Retail $6.50. Member's price $4.95.



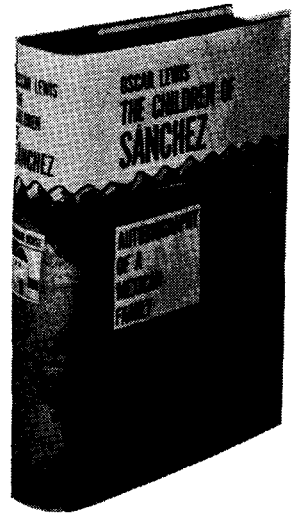
The Muckrakers, edited by Arthur and Lila Weinberg. Retail $7.50. Member's price $5.95.

The Labyrinth, Saul Steinberg. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Joy of Music, Leonard Bernstein. Retail $5.95. Member's price $3.95.

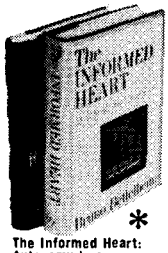


A History of Western Morals, Crane Brinton. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.50.



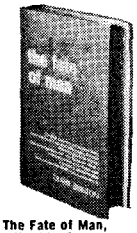
The Children of Sánchez, Oscar Lewis. Retail $7.50. Member's price $5.50.

Freedom in the Ancient World, Herbert J. Muller. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

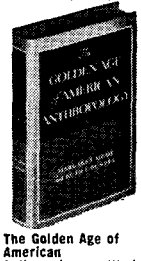


The Informed Heart: Autonomy in a Mass Age, Bruno Bettelheim *and* **In Search of Humanity,** Alfred Cobban. Combined Retail price $9.50. Member's price (for both books) $5.50 *

The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell, edited by Robert E. Egner and Lester E. Dennon. Retail $10.00. Member's price $5.95.



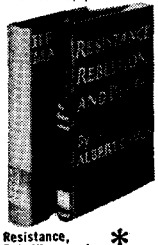
The Fate of Man, edited by Crane Brinton. Including Plato, Sophocles, Aquinas, Spencer, Nietzsche, Engels, Freud, Toynbee, Kant, Whitehead, Kluckhohn, Shapley, Rosenberg, Huxley, and others. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.



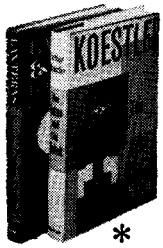
The Golden Age of American Anthropology, edited by Margaret Mead and Ruth Bunzel. Retail $10.00. Member's price $4.95.

Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking, edited by C. Wright Mills. Penetrating studies of man by Lippmann, Spencer, Weber, Marx, Engels, Veblen, and many others. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

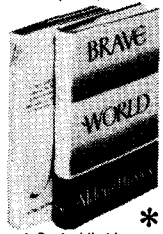
Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society. A massive compendium of studies by Mead, May, Orwell, Rosenberg, Richards, Gorer, Howe, Jaspers, Mills and more. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.



Resistance, Rebellion, and Death, by Albert Camus; *and* **The Cuban Story,** by Herbert Matthews. Combined retail price $8.50. Member's price (for both books) $5.95. *



The Lotus and the Robot, Arthur Koestler; *and* **Lanterns and Lances,** James Thurber. Combined retail price $7.90. Member's price (for both books) $4.95. *



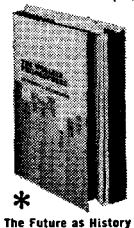
J. B., Archibald MacLeish; *and* **Brave New World Revisited,** Aldous Huxley. Combined retail price $6.50. Member's price $4.50. *

"THE AGE OF ROOSEVELT"

The Crisis of the Old Order, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.00. Member's price $4.50.

The Coming of the New Deal, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.75. Member's price $4.75.

The Politics of Upheaval, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95. Member's price $4.95.



The Future as History *and* **The Worldly Philosophers: The Lives, Times, & Ideas of the Great Economic Thinkers,** both by Robert L. Heilbroner. Combined retail price $9.00. Member's price (for both books) $6.70. *

Catch 22, Joseph Heller; *and* **The Rising Gorge,** S. J. Perelman. Combined retail price $10.45. *Member's price (for* both books) $5.95. *

SELECTIONS MAKE THE DIFFERENCE! Here are some of the selections that the Book Find Club has offered its members at substantial savings. The selections of the Book Find Club *are different. You will recognize them as works of current interest and lasting value—solid,* readable books that range from social science to the fine arts. These are only a few from the outstanding list of more than 100 books and records that the Book Find Club will make available to you as a member if you join now. As an introductory offer, to acquaint you with the benefits and privileges of membership, we invite you to choose any three of the selections *pictured above* ***free*** *with your first selection. Since several are dual selections*, you may* acquire as many as **8** books in this way.

CONVENIENCE. *Membership in the Book Find Club makes it possible for you to shop for* the books you want in the comfort of your own home—enabling you to build your library conveniently and inexpensively. Each month you will receive The Book Find News, containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of the many other books available at special member's prices. You need choose **only** the books you want.

AVERAGE SAVINGS OF 40%. As a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 40% on the books you take. Furthermore, on certain choices your savings will reach and even exceed 50%. *Compare the prices of the books shown here. Your savings on this introductory offer alone can* amount to **as much as $35.55.**

BONUS BOOKS. *When your initial commitment has been fulfilled, you will be entitled to a* free bonus book of your own choosing after every third selection that you take.

* ***Two books counting as one selection***

THE BOOK FIND CLUB

215 Park Avenue South, New York 3, N. Y.

You may enroll me as a member of the Book Find Club and send me the three free books of my choice with my first selection at the special member's price (plus postage and handling). I agree to buy at least four additional selections—*or alternates—in the next twelve months. When my initial commitment has been* fulfilled, I will be entitled to a **free bonus book** of my own choosing after every third selection that I take. I am to receive each month without charge the **Book Find News** containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of *all other books available to me at special member's prices. This* will enable me to make my own choice: if I do not want the selection announced I can return your form saying "send me nothing" or use it to order another book from the more than 100 current choice titles offered. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the four additional selections or alternates.

First Selection _____

Free Books 1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss _____

Please print full name

Address _____

City _____ Zone ____ State _____

(Same offer and prices apply in Canada. Address: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ontario)

862-17

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Palm Beach Philosophy

While the press and TV pundits were making year's-end resumés of the state of the world, a flurry of news stories emerged from Palm Beach giving the President's own resumé. Written by White House regulars, their source was kept somewhat mysterious. "These and other views were made known today by persons familiar with the President's ideas and state of mind at the end of his first year in office," ran the New York *Times* dispatch. "The President's thinking on these and other matters was obtained here from persons who have seen him in the last few days and are qualified to reflect his views," reported the Washington *Post*. There was nothing to indicate that Mr. Kennedy himself had been interviewed by the reporters who had been hurriedly summoned to Palm Beach and required to sign an agreement not to identify him. (One reporter who pinned his story "on highest authority" was criticized by his colleagues for violating the agreement.)

The best rule of thumb for the high official in measuring the usefulness of such "backgrounders" is whether they get across what it is he wishes to communicate. We wonder how well this particular effort served the President's purpose. There was a cheerful, complacent quality about these second-hand authoritative opinions. As loosely relayed without the coherence of a speech or the context of question and answer, Mr. Kennedy's views came out as a faceless mishmash.

Frankly, we were not happy about certain aspects of this portrait of the President's thinking. It was hard to tell what was fuzzy—the President himself or the composite portrait, which we hope bears little resemblance to the original. Take this list of the year's "minuses" for the Soviets, as recorded by the *Times:*

"There has been no material expansion of Soviet power in Africa, Latin America, Asia or the Middle East"; "The Soviet Union and East Germany made . . . a rather important concession of Communist failure when they erected the Wall in Berlin to halt the stream of refugees to the West"; "The military balance of power forced the Soviet Union to resume nuclear weapons testing, although that step destroyed Moscow's propaganda work of years."

Among the pluses cited for the West: "The Communists have not taken over Laos nor has the United States had to intervene militarily in that land."

According to the *Wall Street Journal:* ". . . Mr. Kennedy emphatically rejects the course . . . of giving U.S. policy a more pro-Western flavor and less accent on helping the neutrals. To follow this path, Mr. Kennedy believes, would force the U.S. against the tide of history, currently running against colonialism. He feels it would be disastrous for the U.S. not to be associated with this great stream."

On the question of Berlin, according to the New York *Herald Tribune:* "He [Mr. Kennedy] does not want Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev to be able to say that he had made proposals and the West had not responded."

Throughout these accounts, the President was reported as impatient of criticism that his foreign policies are lacking in a "grand design."

As the *Times* put it, "President Kennedy believes that the grand design of his administration's foreign policies derives from what he thinks has been a generally consistent United States course since 1945. As he sees it, the long-range purpose of himself and the nation is to work toward a world in which free states can develop sufficient internal resources to maintain their independence."

We might be tempted to remark that this is a concept so grand that it is lacking in design.

THE NEW ORDER

". . . a potentially deleterious effect of the computer was the psychological blow that man's ego might suffer from the slow blurring of distinction between human and machine 'thinking.'"—New York Times.

Poor wretched Id—
How to resolve the dialogue
"*It* did," "*I* did"?

For legs—the wheel;
For fingers—needle, dial;
For mind—tape, reel.

Now what is left
For man to call his own,
Of these bereft?

The soul, the heart?
His order of magnitude
Has come apart.

The heart, the soul?
The master that has none
Assumes control.

—SEC

Why Bother the Courts?

It looks as if the Supreme Court is going to have to rule sooner or later on the question of birth control in Connecticut. Last June, by a five to four vote, the justices declined to consider several suits that had been brought before them to test the constitutionality of an 1879 state law forbidding citizens to use or doctors to prescribe any artificial means of preventing pregnancy. Massachusetts is the only other state in the Union that has such a law. Speaking for the majority, Mr. Justice Frankfurter argued that since there had been only one prosecution under

(*Continued on Page 18*)

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Will you leave these freedoms to your children?

Men have died to leave you these 4 symbols of freedom:

A Holy Bible—symbol of your right to worship as you wish.
(First Amendment, U. S. Constitution)

A door key—your right to lock your door against illegal government force and prying.
(Fourth Amendment, U. S. Constitution)

A pencil—freedom to speak or write what you think, whether you agree with the government or not.
(First Amendment, U. S. Constitution)

And a free ballot—your right to choose the people who represent you in government—your protection against government tyranny.
(Article I, U. S. Constitution)

In half the world today, these symbols and the things they stand for have been destroyed.

And Khrushchev says it can happen here. He boasts that our grandchildren will live under socialism.

Unthinkable? Yes—but only so long as America guards its freedoms well. Against threats that come from *inside* our country, as well as from the outside.

In these critical times you would think that all of America's energies and financial resources should be concentrated on strengthening our country's defense.

But there are some people who would weaken this effort through needless government spending. For example, they want to use billions of your tax dollars to put the government *deeper* into the electric power business.

Such spending is unnecessary because the *investor-owned* electric light and power companies can supply all the additional power a growing America will need.

Each time the government moves further into business—any business—it is another step on the road to socialism. And socialism is one thing Americans do *not* mean to leave to their children—or grandchildren, despite what Khrushchev says.

Investor-Owned Electric Light and Power Companies
Company names on request through this magazine

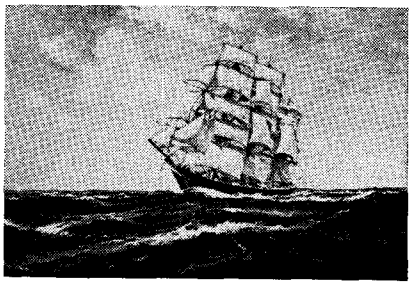
Keep America Powerful

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stock up before we take stock ...and you'll SAVE as much as 80%

6315. THE WAYWARD WIFE and Other Stories. By Alberto Moravia. Eight stories by one of the finest of modern Italian authors, including the long title story with its theme of parasitism and blackmail, and its central figure, one of Moravia's most vivid and arresting creations. *Pub. at $3.95.* *Only* **1.00**

6803. THE PAGEANT OF PAINTING: From the Byzantine to Picasso. By D'Espezel & Fosca. Nearly 250 illustrations, 110 in full color, many full page. The history of the growth of creative vision over the past twenty centuries in a spendid volume of pictures with a text reflecting the best of modern scholarship. 8½" x 11¾". *Pub. at $15.00.* *Only* **7.95**



P-869. MACGREGOR: *BLUE WATERS.*
A sundrenched, windy seascape in every range of blue, highlighted by whitecaps, white sails, white gulls and white clouds. Beautifully reproduced. 16" high x 24" wide. *Special* **2.98**

6822. THE PAGEANT OF JAPANESE HISTORY. By Marion May Dilts. An informative introductory history that guides the reader swiftly and surely through Japanese social, cultural, political and industrial change from the earliest settlements to the post-war world. 1947 Edition. *Pub. at $6.00.* *Only* **1.98**

6817. THE SACRED SCRIPTURES OF THE JAPANESE. By Post Wheeler. The only complete and critical presentation of the sacred myths of the *Shinto*, one of the most important myth creations of mankind, and of unbelievable influence upon millions; with all authoritative variants, chronologically arranged. Copious notes. *562pp.* *Pub. at $10.00.* *Only* **3.98**

6739. LEFTOVER LIFE TO KILL. By Caitlin Thomas. One of the most daring and uninhibited confessions ever written by a woman; Dylan Thomas's widow tells of her turbulent marriage, her husband's tragic race toward self-destruction and the disturbing months that followed. *Pub. at $4.50.* *Only* **1.00**

6800. A SPY IN THE HOUSE OF LOVE. By Anais Nin. An *avante garde* novel filled with evocations of sensuous pleasure and pain, by the friend of Henry Miller and author of the Preface to *Tropic of Cancer* *Special* **1.00**

6767. A PICTORIAL GUIDE TO AMERICAN GARDENS. By Louis H. Frohman & Jean Elliot. 400 illus., 90 in full color. A complete guide to American gardens of all sizes, open to the public, in every section of the U.S. Full information on how to get there, time of bloom, special features including an alphabetical directory of flowers, trees and shrubs. *Pub. at $5.95.* *Only* **3.95**

6783. AUTORITRATTI DAL XIV AL XX SECOLO (Self-Portraits of 6 Centuries). More than 260 self-portraits from Gothic masters to popular moderns, including 25 full-color tip-on plates. Italian text. *Special* **1.98**

P-867.
MOSES SOYER:
GIRL IN YELLOW.
A poignant study of a young girl reproduced beautifully in soft green, brighter yellow and subtle brown. 19¾" high x 16" wide. *Special* **1.98**

6802. THE LONDON SHAKESPEARE: A New Annotated and Critical Edition of the Complete Works in Six Volumes. Ed. by John Munro. The famous beautifully printed and bound set containing all of the plays and poems with much valuable material, including a bibliography and glossary. Each volume 6" x 9", all six in a handsome box. *Pub. at $36.00.* *Boxed set, only* **19.95**

6805. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE ACTOR. By Yoti Lane. An examination of the actor (and actress) in relation to himself, his art, society, other member of his profession, the problems of sex and homo sexuality, emotion, and introversion and extroversion *Pub. at $3.75.* *Only* **1.00**

6768. HOW TO MAKE POTTERY AND OTHER CERAMIC WARE. By Muriel P. Turoff. Over 350 illus. Clever and practical book of instructions, showing how to design, make, decorate, and handle article of clay. Every phase of ceramics is covered. *Pub. at $3.95.* *Only* **1.98**

6715. PRIMITIVE PEOPLES TODAY. By Edward Weyer, Jr. A uniquely revealing account of life outside civilization that provides a fascinating and often astonishing view of life among 14 tribes, including Eskimos, Navajos, Jivaros, Bushmen, Samoans and others. With a vivid text by an anthropologist-explorer and 212 extraordinary pictures by some of the world's foremost photographers, including 58 in full color. Printed in Switzerland. 8½" x 11". *Pub at $10.00.* *Only* **4.98**

6251. THE ART OF ACTING. By John Doylan, Jr. A new challenging approach to dramatic concepts, not only techniques, but theories; not only rules, but also reasons. A must for all who love the theatre. *Orig. pub. at $6.00. New complete edition* **2.98**

6850. LE MORTE D'ARTHUR: The Book of King Arthur and His Knights of the Round Table. By Sir Thomas Malory. A single-volume, 960-page, unexpurgated edition of the 15th century classic that represents the very heart and marrow of the English heritage, complete with the great tales of adultry, Lancelot and Guinevere, Tristan and Isolde, and all the pre-Christian magic and their Christian symbols. *To be pub. at $15.00. Special pre-pub price* **9.95**

6332. IVY COMPTON-BURNETT PACKAGE. Two recent novels by one of the finest of modern English novelists: *A Heritage & Its History* and *The Present and the Past. Pub. at $7.25.* *Both only* **1.00**

6143. THE CATCHER IN THE RYE. By J. D. Salinger. The fascinating three-day odyssey of Holden Caulfield, an ancient 16-year-old, underground in New York; one of the best-loved novels of the post-war era. Hardbound. *Special* **1.49**

5859. HOKUSAI: 100 VIEWS OF FUJI. Intro. by Jack Hillier. Plate annotations by F. W. Dickens. An exquisite tribute by Japan's greatest 19th century artist with the "little people" of Japan set against revered Fuji-Yama in 156 superb illustrations. Bound in ribbon in Japanese fashion, printed on luxurious parchment type paper. Slipcase. *Pub. at $10.00.* *Only* **5.88**

5260. Kahlil Gibran: THE VOICE OF THE MASTER. Fresh insights into many of life's most perplexing riddles and a stirring picture of how faith and love overcome grief and loneliness, by the author of *The Prophet. Pub. at $3.00.* *Only* **1.00**

P-868. GAUGUIN: *FAA IHEIHE.*
Literally translated as *Decorated with Ornaments*, this vivid frieze celebrates Gauguin's return to youth and optimism after a suicide attempt. Orange-reds, mustard yellows and light greens are set off by deep brown and black accents in this splendid silk screen reproduction. 11" high x35¼" wide on a 13"x40" sheet. *Special* **4.95**

5881. GHOSTS IN AMERICAN HOUSES. By James Reynolds. Chilling tales of wealth and insanity, of love lost, spurned and revenged, tales of treachery, bad blood, secret lusts and suppressed family scandals. A spine-tingling assortment *with full-page-black-and-white paintings and 4 in full color.* 8¼" x 10¾". *Orig. pub. at $12.50. New complete edition* **3.95**

5809. SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION. By George Simmel. An examination of the part played by religion in the formation, integration and transformation of society, and the effect of social organization, stratification and differentiation upon religion. *Pub. at $3.75.* *Only* **1.00**

3336. A HISTORY OF ORGIES. By Burgo Partridge. From the Aphrodisia and the Dionysia of ancient Greece to the sinister temple of Aleister Crowley, here is a history of sexual orgies and a study of the social and psychological forces motivating them. *Orig. pub. at $3.95.* *New complete edition* **1.98**

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY

marboro Dept. R-800, 131 Varick St., New York 13, N. Y.

Please send me postage prepaid, the bargains circled below. (Please add 25¢ postage and handling on all orders under $5.00.)

☐ Enclosed find $_____

☐ Send C.O.D.* } Limited to orders of $5.00 or more.

☐ Charge my Diners' Club account #_____

☐ Charge my American Express account #_____

3336 4133 4667 4966 5257 5260 5261 5455 5656 5686 5804 5809 5859 5881
6143 6251 6315 6332 6358 6429 6552 6599 6612 6655 6656 6663 6686 6695
6704 6706 6715 6736 6739 6764 6767 6768 6783 6788 6800 6802 6803 6804
6805 6806 6807 6817 6822 6850 6872 6890 6891 6892 6893 6894
P865 P866 P867 P868 P869 P871

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

☐ **Check here if you receive our monthly bargain circular**

New York City residents add 3% sales tax. *A few cents extra for C.O.D. Add 25c per title for deliveries outside U.S.A. and possessions. 10-DAY SATISFACTION OR MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE.

WHEN IN NEW YORK CITY, VISIT A MARBORO BOOK SHOP
47 West 42nd Street • 8 East 59th Street • 144 West 57th Street
56 West 8th Street • 390 Fulton Street (Brooklyn)

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MARBORO Pre-Inventory SALE

Prices slashed on treasured Books & Prints

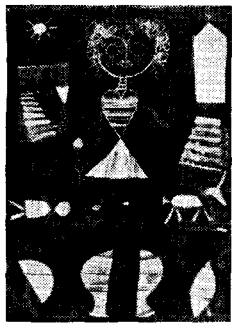
6806. ROAMING BRITAIN. By Willard Price. An engaging travel book, filled with novel views of the usual sights and many glimpses of things unusual, as the author chronicles his 8,000 miles of adventuring through England, Scotland and Wales. Photos. *Pub. at $5.75.* *Only* **1.98**

6894. AMERICA'S TASTE. By Marjorie Longley, et al. Here are the cultural events of more than a century, 1851-1959, as reported by contemporary observers in the pages of the *New York Times;* Harriet Beecher Stowe, *East Lynne,* Bret Harte, Horatio Alger, Sarah Bernhardt, John Philip Sousa, the Ziegfeld Follies, the Armory show, Valentino's funeral, Orson Welles, Rodgers and Hammerstein, the Kinsey Report, Leonard Bernstein and much, much more in a profusely illustrated volume with a big 10¼"x13¼" format. *Pub. at $12.50.* *Only* **4.98**

6695. EXODUS REVISITED. By Leon Uris; photos by Dimitrios Harissiadis. A series of sensitive and profoundly moving photographs and Mr. Uris's impassioned text capture the visual fulfillment of the dream that Uris wrote of in his famous novel *Exodus.* 8½" x 11". *Pub. at $5.95.* *Only* **2.49**

6706. THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. By Stefan Lorant. A big, big book about T.R. and his world, with 150,000 words and 750 pictures, many never before published. A full-length biography of one of the most colorful figures in our history and a gigantic portrait of a turbulent era, in a 640-page 8" x 10½" volume of endless interest. *Pub. at $15.00.* *Only* **6.98**

6655. AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF RUSSIA. By Joel Carmichael; produced by Georges & Rosamond Bernier. Over 300 illustrations, including 36 pages in full color, accompany this analysis of Russian history from the earliest times to recent events. A lively account of despots and eccentrics against a background of Byzantine splendor, all of it magnificently illustrated and thus crystallized with telling immediacy. 9¼" x 12¼". *Pub. at $20.00.* *Only* **12.95**



P-866. KLEE: *PUPPET SHOW*

A charming and nostalgic silk screen reproduction of every child's favorite diversion, in bright yellow, blue, purple, red, magenta, green and pink. 23" high x 16½" wide. *Special* **3.95**

6764. A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF RADIO. By I. Settel. The complete story of radio broadcasting from crystal sets to the present—with all the stars, shows, slogans, etc. and over 400 nostalgic photographs. *Orig. pub. at $6.95.* *Only* **2.98**

5257. PARAPSYCHOLOGY. By Rene Sudre. A scientific interpretation of the human phenomenon known as the "supernatural." Discusses all types of phenomena from water divining to hypnotism, from telepathy to psycho-kinesis, placing them within the framework of a unified theory. *Pub. at $6.00.* *Only* **1.98**

5686. Robert Benchley: AROUND THE WORLD BACKWARDS AND SIDEWAYS. A collection of uproarious Benchley pieces—'nuff said—plus drawings by Gluyas Williams. *Special* **1.00**

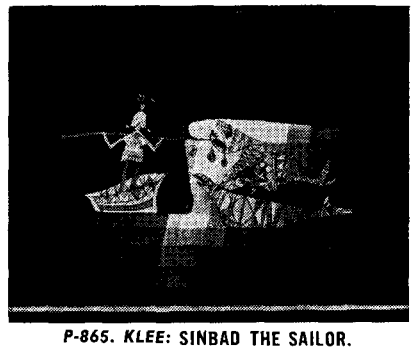
5261. KAHLIL GIBRAN: A Self-Portrait. Transl. & ed. by Anthony R. Ferris. The author of *The Prophet* as revealed in his letters; an intimate record of a creative mind, disclosing his philosophy and his thoughts on a wide variety of cultural topics. *Pub. at $3.00.* *Only* **1.00**

5656. VOYAGE FROM LESBOS: The Psychoanalysis of a Female Homosexual. The first complete report of the psychoanalysis of a lesbian ever published, an intimate picture of the psychological and behavioral problems in female homosexuality. *Pub. at $4.00.* *Only* **1.00**

5804. 1200 RUSSIAN PROVERBS. Collected & Translated by Isaac A. Langnas. Here, for the pleasure and edification of American readers, are the proverbs that are playing an increasing part in political speechmaking by Soviet leaders. *Pub. at $2.75.* *Only* **1.00**

6804. DYNASTY: The Longs of Louisiana. By Thomas Martin. An award-winning reporter probes the fabulous dynasty of Huey and Earl Long, with all its humor, tragedy and significance for political life in America. *Pub. at $3.95.* *Only* **1.00**

6892. DR. GOEBBELS: HIS LIFE AND DEATH. By Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel. The full story of the curious, repellent, dangerous yet fascinating man whose career is without parallel in history; the most interesting Nazi apart from Hitler himself. Illus. *Pub. at $4.50.* *Only* **1.98**



P-865. KLEE: SINBAD THE SAILOR.

A completely captivating silk screen reproduction of the most famous *Thousand and One Nights* hero, in spectrum blues ranging from sky to midnight and highlighted with vivid pinks, marigold, red, white, black and warm oranges. 16¼" high x 23" wide. *Special* **3.95**

6704. JAZZ STREET: A Photographic Exploration Into the World of Jazz. By Dennis Stock; with text by Nat Hentoff. An often haunting, always exciting look at the world of jazz, and an unsentimentalized look at the men and women of that world. 130 magnificent photos, printed in Switzerland, in a stunning 8¼" x 11" volume. *Pub. at $6.95.* *Only* **2.98**

6893. CHATEAUBRIAND. By Andre Maurois. A spirited biography of a fascinating, paradoxical figure—poet, statesman, lover—and the world of literature and politics he influenced before the French Revolution through the era of Napoleon. Illus. *Pub. at $6.00.* *Only* **2.98**

6358. EMAKIMONO: The Art of the Japanese Painted Hand-Scroll. Photos & Foreword by Akihisa Hase; text by Prof. Dietrich Seckel. An extremely beautiful book that is a must for all lovers of Oriental art. Printed in Switzerland and featuring 68 full-color tip-on plates, a long introduction and complete set of notes, this 9" x 11½" volume comes in a handsome slipcase. *Pub. at $35.00.* *Only* **16.95**

6890. THE EMPIRE CITY. By Paul Goodman. A remarkable novel that probes the interior and exterior life of a metropolis, its civilization, society and individuals, with startling frankness and realistic fantasy. 621 pages. *Pub. at $6.95.* *Only* **1.98**

6552. THE MEMOIRS OF CORDELL HULL. Two large volumes, *1,742* pages crammed with behind-the-scenes revelations of American and international politics during fifty years of wars and revolutions. One of the great source-books of contemporary history. *Pub. at $10.00.* *Only* **2.98**

6872. Jacob Burckhardt: JUDGMENT ON HISTORY AND HISTORIANS. A collection of writings by the Swiss historian, one of the greatest intellectual figures of the 19th century, ranging from antiquity through the Middle Ages, the Reformation and the Age of Reason to the time of Napoleon. *Pub. at $6.00.* *Only* **1.98**

6656. THE GIRLS FROM *LA VIE PARISIENNE*. A scintillating album crammed with the beauties who, for nearly a century, have made *La Vie Parisienne* a byword for elegant naughtiness. 9¾" x 12¼". *Pub. at $5.95.* *Only* **1.98**

6599. Shirley Jackson: RAISING DEMONS. Domestic chaos with Mother Jackson and her ferociously uninhibited chickens, four wild children and an exasperated, floundering husband. *Special* **1.00**

6612. LIVING FOSSILS. By Maurice Burton; with 83 drawings by Jane Burton. An informative and entertaining book about some of the oddest survivors of the zoological past, and a discussion of extinction and survival, missing links and legendary monsters and mysteries. *Special* **1.49**

6788. ARTS YEARBOOK #4. America's leading annual survey of painting and sculpture, with a complete directory of galleries and museums. Articles on Mondrian, Max Beckmann, the poetry of Michelangelo, modernist painting, the Orswell collection, American painting, artists on the current scene, etc. Profusely illustrated, including 28 full color plates. 9" x 12". *Pub. at $5.95.* *Only* **1.98**

6891. BAUDELAIRE: A Self-Portrait. The most revealing book ever published about the strange tormented genius; a moving portrait derived from his letters, transl. and ed., with a running commentary, by L. B. Hyslop and S. E. Hyslop, Jr.; with bibliography, notes and index. *Pub. at $6.00.* *Only* **1.49**

6686. THE ART OF CONDUCTING. By Michael Bowles. Intro. by Sir Adrian Boult. A rewarding work for the music lover and a valuable handbook for students and leaders of orchestra, band, choir or glee club. *Pub. at $3.95.* *Only* **1.49**

6807. The Illustrated History of PARIS AND ITS PEOPLE. Ed. by Robert Laffont. A superb tribute to the world's most beautiful city and its colorful inhabitants—over 900 pictures, many in full color, including paintings, drawings, photos, prints and maps, point up the beauty and gaiety of this most loved, most visited, most remembered city. 9½" x 12". *Pub. at $16.00.* *Only* **6.95**

6663. DOWN THERE: *La Bas*, A Study in Satanism. By J. K. Huysmans. The infamous book that offers, in its lurid details of Satanic practices, our most trustworthy picture of *fin-de-siecle* occultism. With a fascinating introduction by Robert Baldick. *Pub. at $5.00.* *Only* **2.98**

6736. Cartoons by Tomi Ungerer: HORRIBLE. The ingenious comic artist responsible for this slightly macabre and more than slightly madcap collection calls it "an account of the sad achievements of progress." Intro. by Art Buchwald. 9" x 12". *Pub. at $10.00.* *Only* **1.98**

P-871. BRAQUE: *STILL LIFE.*

A prime example of Braque's work during the twenties in which cubist forms surround natural ones, and the subdued grays, browns, olive green, brick red and black dominate the jewel tones of blue, green, pink, and yellow—as well as chalk white. Silk screened to duplicate the exact colors of the original. 20" high x 25" wide on a 23" x 35" sheet. *Special* **5.95**

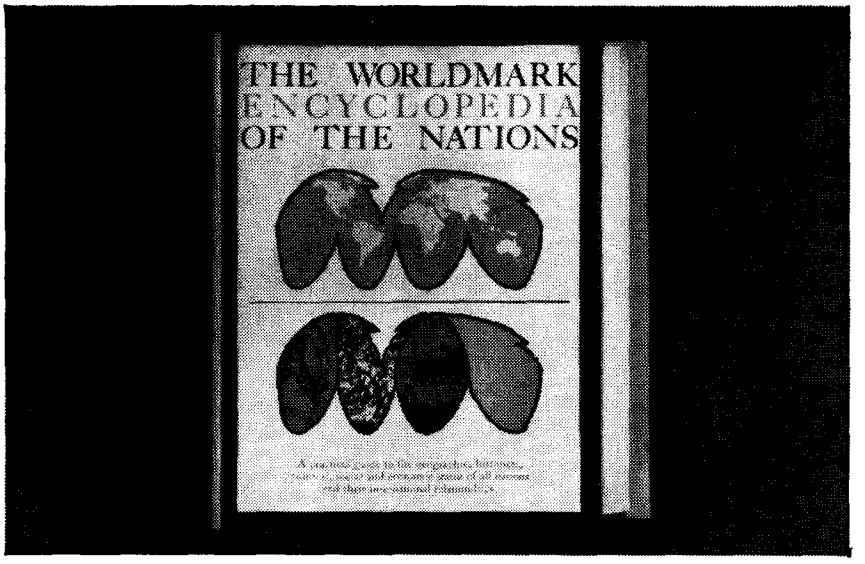
5455. THE NUDISTS. By Donald Johnson. A full and frank report on who and what the American nudists are and what they are trying to accomplish; an up-to-date history of the movement. Photos. *Pub. at $3.75.* *Only* **1.49**

4966. THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM. A magnificent new edition of one of the great treasures of world literature, *exquisitely illustrated in full color* by the noted Persian artist Sarkis Katchadourian. Printed on genuine rag paper, beautifully bound, 7" x 10". *Special* **1.98**

4667. ROGET'S THESAURUS of Words and Phrases. Authorized, revised edition of the indispensable book for everyone who wants to find the right word at the right time. 700-page hardbound edition. *Special* **1.98**

4133. THE SEXUAL RELATIONS OF MANKIND. By P. Manteggazza. The great Italian anthropologist's definitive account of strange and curious sexual customs. *Pub. at $4.00.* *Only* **1.98**

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



$30.00 ENCYCLOPEDIA FREE...

if you join the Contemporary Affairs Society now. One of the most important reference books published in years, the Worldmark Encyclopedia of the Nations includes whatever you may want to know about the political, historical, economic, geographic, and cultural status of 119 nations; plus a full account of the United Nations and its specialized agencies...1500 pages of text, 145 maps, 32 pages in color, over 600 tables and charts. (Published by Harper & Brothers; edited by Benjamin A. Cohen)

This authoritative, comprehensive volume is yours FREE if you join the Contemporary Affairs Society and agree to purchase *six* books at substantial savings during the next 15 months. With every fourth book you purchase, you will receive a bonus book free.

To start your subscription, indicate on the coupon below which titles you wish sent with your free Encyclopedia.

Our current selection is #64 **Appeasement** by A. L. Rowse (W. W. Norton, pub. price $3.00) and **Why England Slept** by John F. Kennedy (Wilfred Funk, pub. price $3.50)—*a dual selection.* C. A. S. Member's price for both $5.00.

You may, however, prefer to choose a substitute.

	Pub. Price	Your Price
☐ #54 **Science in the Cause of Man** Gerard Piel	$5.00	$4.00
☐ #79 **Doctors, Patients and Health Insurance** Herman M. and Anne R. Somers	$7.50	$6.00
☐ #61 **Majesty and Mischief** (A Mixed Tribute to F.D.R.) Wm. S. White	$4.50	$4.00
☐ #77 **The Black Muslims in America** C. Eric Lincoln	$4.95	$3.95
☐ #24 **Slums and Suburbs** James B. Conant	$3.95	$3.50

CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS SOCIETY

Sponsors: Walter Lippmann, Dorothy Fosdick, Marquis Childs; **Board of Judges:** Richard Rovere, John Sherman Cooper, Roscoe Drummond, Ernest K. Lindley, Louis M. Lyons, A. H. Raskin, and Jerome B. Wiesner; **Chairman of the Society's Planning Board:** Robert G. Spivack.

7-R

USE THIS COUPON TO JOIN TODAY.

CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS SOCIETY
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4, D.C.

Please enroll me as a member of the Contemporary Affairs Society and send me at once, FREE, the Worldmark Encyclopedia of the Nations. I wish to start my membership with the selection I have indicated. I agree to purchase at least five additional books from you during the coming 15 months. I understand that with every fourth book I purchase, I will receive a bonus book free of charge.

I have indicated below the books I want.

#☐_____

#☐_____

#☐_____

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ZONE___STATE_____

☐ Check Enclosed (save postage & handling) ☐ Bill Me Later (postage & handling extra)

the Connecticut statute, it amounted to nothing but "dead words" and "harmless empty shadows." But although the authorities had not attempted to interfere with physicians in private practice or "isolated and individual married couples," in Mr. Justice Brennan's charming phrase, the old Connecticut law obviously *has* served to prevent the opening of birth-control clinics for the benefit of those who lack either the knowledge of what to prescribe for themselves or the money to go to a private doctor for advice. That doesn't look much like equality before the law. And even the justices who decided to duck the issue on the terms in which it was presented to them last June seemed almost to be wishing that somebody would serve them up a case that would involve clinics for the general public.

That wish has now been complied with. A Planned Parenthood Center was opened in New Haven on November 1, and ten days later the forces of law and order took their cue obligingly and closed the clinic down after arresting its executive director, Mrs. Estelle Griswold, and its medical director, Dr. Charles Lee Buxton. Dr. Buxton, Chairman of the Obstetrics and Gynecology Department at the Yale Medical School, had been one of the plaintiffs in the suits that came before the Supreme Court last June. On January 2, the plot was advanced one step further when the two defendants were found guilty of disobeying the "dead words" of the old statute. Although it may take some time, Dr. Buxton can almost certainly count on having his day in the Supreme Court.

In many ways that will be unfortunate. By and large in recent years, there has been a good deal less talk about the immorality of birth control than about the immorality of a situation in which one group seems to be imposing its views on the whole community. In the heat of the controversy, everyone seems to have forgotten that the Connecticut state legislature was not dominated by Roman Catholics when the law was passed back in 1879 but by Protestants. It is perfectly true, of course, that some Catholic politicians have seen fit to adopt this unfortunate vestige of Puritanism as

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE GREAT AGES OF WORLD ARCHITECTURE

The authoritative volumes that comprise THE GREAT AGES OF WORLD ARCHITECTURE are an indispensable reference shelf on the most significant periods of architecture throughout history. The individual books combine definitive texts with profuse illustrations—more than 500 photographs, drawings, and plans—to show the scope of each age, and to provide answers to such questions as: **What makes the age significant? Which are its typical and most important structures? Its failures? What are the social, historical, and cultural situations that produced that particular architectural style?**

Together, these handsome books constitute a unique history of world architecture—relating a building or a style to its immediate social and historical environment, and to the monuments of other periods of architecture. They are serious art books, intended not only for the student of art history or the professional architect, but for the general public as well.

If you act now you may have this exciting new series THE GREAT AGES OF WORLD ARCHITECTURE—enclosed in two slipcases (and published at a retail price of $40.00)—for the special introductory price of $9.95, with membership in The Seven Arts Book Society.

The Seven Arts Book Society

offers you the opportunity to build what André Malraux described as "a museum without walls"—to enrich your home with the finest books on the arts—at substantial savings. The selections of The Seven Arts Book Society—like those listed below—are all books of permanent value: oversize, richly illustrated volumes with definitive texts. Moreover, as a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 30% and more. Why not discover the great advantages of belonging to this unique organization today? You may begin your membership with THE GREAT AGES OF WORLD ARCHITECTURE—itself a selection of The Seven Arts Book Society, and typical of the kind of books members regularly receive—for only $9.95.

Eight 7¼" x 10" volumes, handsomely boxed

Over 500 pages of photographs, drawings, and plans

More than 80,000 words of text

Printed in sheet-fed gravure, by the world-renowned Enschedé of Holland

Retail $40.00

GREEK
A lucid and readable account by Robert L. Scranton of the history of Greek architecture – its temples, theatres, municipal buildings, and homes.
ROMAN
Frank E. Brown explores 1,000 years of Roman architecture – from the Atlantic to the Euphrates – to discover its fundamental unity through its progressive development.
MEDIEVAL
Howard Saalman investigates the architecture of the Middle Ages—its churches, cathedrals, and monasteries; the feudal castles and the dwellings of the common people.
EARLY CHRISTIAN & BYZANTINE
by William MacDonald. A penetrating examination of the style that was to become the primary influence upon the architecture of Russia.
GOTHIC
Robert Branner analyzes the 400 years of Gothic architecture in Europe that produced such monuments as Notre-Dame de Paris and Chartres.
RENAISSANCE
by Bates Lowry. A revealing history of the age of Michelangelo and St. Peter's Cathedral, in which the complex designs of Gothic architecture were abandoned in favor of more simple, yet monumentally imposing, structures.
BAROQUE & ROCOCO
An assessment by Henry Millon of this age's dynamic incorporation of painting, sculpture, and stucco decoration into its buildings.
MODERN
Vincent Scully, Jr. evaluates the major trends of our times in the light of their antecedents, and their meaning in terms of contemporary life.
GREEK ARCHITECTURE
ROMAN ARCHITECTURE
EARLY CHRISTIAN
MEDIEVAL
GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE
RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE
BAROQUE AND ROCOCO ARCHITECTURE

OTHER RECENT SEVEN ARTS BOOK SOCIETY SELECTIONS

THE CITY IN HISTORY, Lewis Mumford; and **THE ARCHITECTURE OF AMERICA: A Social and Cultural History,** John Burchard and *Albert Bush-Brown. A dual selection. Combined retail price* $26.50. Member's price (for both books) $14.95.

SUMER: THE DAWN OF ART, André Parrot. First of the monumental new series "The Arts of Mankind," under the supervision of André Malraux and Georges Salles. Including a 37-page preface by Malraux. 557 illus. (62 in brilliant color), 27 plans and maps, 5 fold out plates. 396 pp., 9 x 11. Retail $20.00. Member's price $14.95.

THE ARTS OF ASSYRIA, André Parrot. Second of the universally hailed series that will compose André Malraux's "museum without walls," the magnificent and comprehensive ARTS OF MANKIND. 385 pages; 437 illustrations (108 in color), including 9 giant fold out reproductions; 9 x 11. *Retail $25.00. Member's price $18.95.*

KATSURA: Tradition and Culture in Japanese Architecture, Kenzo Tange. Introduction by Walter Gropius. 250 pp., 10⅝ x 11, 160 pp. of superb photographs. Printed in Japan, and bound in raw silk. Retail $15.00 Member's price $11.95.

MASTERS OF WORLD ARCHITECTURE: WRIGHT, GAUDI, NERVI, LE CORBUSIER, AALTO, and MIES VAN DER ROHE. 6 volumes, boxed; 480 photographs, drawings, and plans, and 60,000 words of text; 7¼ x 10. Retail $29.75. *Member's price $16.95.*

MASTERS OF WORLD ARCHITECTURE: GROPIUS, NEUTRA, SULLIVAN, MENDELSOHN, and NIEMEYER. 5 volumes, boxed; 400 photographs, drawings and plans, and 50,000 words of text; 7¼ x 10. Retail $24.75. Member's price $14.95.

PABLO PICASSO, Wilhelm Boeck and Jaime Sabartès. 606 reproductions (44 in full color), 524 pp., 8½ x 12. Retail $20.00. Member's price $14.95.

***MONET,** by William C. Seitz, 9¾ x 12¾, 133 illustrations (48 in full color,* tipped-in). Retail $15.00. Member's price $11.95.

REMBRANDT, Ludwig Münz. 50 tipped-in color reproductions, 21 etchings, 17 drawings, 22 text illustrations; 160 pp., 9¾ x 12¾. Retail $15.00. Member's price $11.95.

All 8 Volumes Yours for $9.95

The Seven Arts Book Society

215 Park Avenue South, New York 3, N. Y.

You may enter my name as a member and send me all eight volumes of THE GREAT AGES OF WORLD ARCHITECTURE *for only* $9.95 *(plus postage and handling). I agree to take as few* as six additional selections in the course of my membership. I am to receive each month without charge the attractive **Seven Arts News** containing an extensive review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of all other books available to me at member's prices. *If I do* not want the selection announced I can return your simple form saying "send me nothing," or use it to order another book from the more than 100 authoritative volumes offered in the course of a year. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the six additional selections.

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss *Please print full name*

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

562-17

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For Capital Reading All Year Long See Page 45

something like an article of their own faith. But in the past few months a number of responsible Catholic spokesmen have made it clear that while the Church insists upon its moral right to define the nature of sin for its own communicants, it by no means demands for itself the legal right to define the nature of crime for the public at large. Father Dexter L. Hanley, S.J., professor of law at Georgetown University, has put it this way: "Of course I maintain that the practice of birth control is morally wrong, but it is difficult to see the direct social harm of such action. And the unenforceability of such a law could lead to disrespect for law in general." Here is what another prominent Jesuit scholar, Father Gustave Weigel, has to say on the subject: "The morality of divorce, birth control, liquor traffic and the like is one thing. Civil legislation about them is another."

All this suggests that the really important question about the Connecticut statute is not "Is it Constitutional?" but "Who really wants it?" In a well-ordered democracy the processes of judicial review are not the only and certainly not the best way of getting rid of a bad law. Despite the Supreme Court's reluctance to hand down a decision last June, it is clear that the Connecticut statute has no admirers among the justices. But why must we wait for the inevitable ruling? Why leave it to the courts—indeed, to the one we call Supreme? Perhaps the time is ripe for some bold Connecticut Yankee—whatever his faith—to move that the state legislature undo its own mistake.

Bolling Bows Out

The House of Representatives has now worked its will in choosing its leaders. For the Democrats, it was done with singular apathy considering the fact that they had to choose a Speaker for the first time in over two decades. The hierarchs simply moved up one—John McCormack of Massachusetts to Speaker, Carl Albert of Oklahoma to Majority Leader.

Richard Bolling of Missouri, whom the late Mr. Sam often seemed to be grooming for the job of Speaker, had made a bid for the second post but felt obliged to bow out the week before Congress reconvened. Even some of his supporters did not want to cause the "embarrassment" of forcing an open contest.

All the smart pros in politics say that Mr. Kennedy could do nothing to influence the succession even though it promotes Mr. McCormack, his old enemy since the days they fought each other for control of the party in Massachusetts. Had the President even lifted a finger against him, they claim, the administration's program would have been in even greater danger than it is. By such cautionary shrewdness is Presidential initiative hemmed in.

Yet the House is a body that is traditionally suited to act when acted upon. Somewhere from outside forces could surely have been mustered to insure meaning to a contest that will affect the success or failure of the administration.

Not least among the culprits, in our estimation, were the journalists. It is demonstrable that the politicians set their priorities more often than not by what the reporters consider news. The House is usually covered badly, but during the weeks before and after Rayburn's death, there was a conspicuous lack of the prodding and prying by which the press sometimes serves as midwife to history. In late November, when Bolling announced his decision to run against Albert, the New York *Times* gave the story three and one half inches on page 30. His decision to withdraw, however, was worth twelve inches on page one, and another twenty inside.

CALENDAR

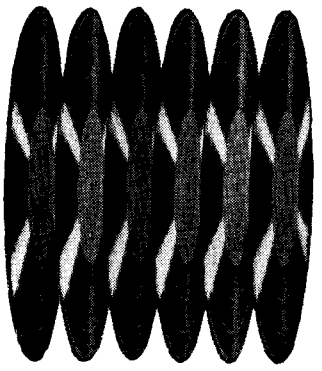
"Era of Nudes is Fading. Companies Turn to Sunsets, Geese, Scouts and Other Wholesome Subjects."—New York Times.

Tell me not in mournful numbers
  How the flesh decays;
Fie on the memory that cumbers
  All the passing days.

Rather let the sun in sinking
  And the bird in flight
Keep me resolutely thinking
  Day will follow night.

—SEC

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



NEVER AGAIN will you see this amazing offer—

6 RECORDS for only $6.96

Louisville Orchestra Records advance to $7.92 each on February 28

As of February 28, the price of Louisville Orchestra First Edition Records goes up to $7.92 each to new subscribers. Until then, you can get six records for only $6.96 by subscribing now to take six additional First Edition Records in the next twelve months, at $6.96 each.

First Edition Records are fine Hi-Fi recordings of contemporary symphonic *music — original* works written by today's leading composers. These works are played by the outstanding Louisville Orchestra, conducted by famed Robert Whitney.

Make no mistake about it — there are no other records like Louisville Orchestra First Edition Records. The music is recorded by Columbia Record Productions. It is played and *interpreted as the composer intended* on 12″ long-playing Hi-Fi records.

Critics have praised First Edition Recordings to the skies:

". . . a service to music unequalled." *Christian Science Monitor*

". . . quality higher than critics dared hope." *Time Magazine*

". . . Louisville commissions enrich European as well as American repertories. And the value of recordings . . . would be hard to exaggerate." *New York Times*

" 'Carter Variations' (#583) is a piece of the first rank in any time and place." *Musical Quarterly*

(#574) "Is the greatest American work yet written for voice and orchestra." *Alfred Frankenstein, High Fidelity*

These matchless recordings have been available singly at $7.95 each or by subscription at $6.96 each. Increasing costs will soon require us to raise prices and to withdraw our current *special introductory offer. This is positively the last offer at the old rates.*

Subscriptions postmarked later than midnight, February 27 will not be entered at the old rate. If you are at all interested in finest recordings of the best contemporary symphonic music, *act now.* The coupon at the lower right-hand corner of this announcement is for your convenience.

- The first 6 records (all 6 for $6.96) will be mailed you on receipt of coupon.
- You may discontinue your subscription at any time after purchasing the 6 new releases at $6.96 each, within one year.
- The 6 new releases, for which you pay $6.96 each, will be mailed you at intervals of approximately two months (we pay the postage). After purchasing these 6 records at $6.96 each, you receive a First Edition Record of your choice, free, for every 2 additional selections you buy.

THE LOUISVILLE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY
(A Non-Profit Organization)
Robert Whitney, Conductor

Choose Any Six of These Fine Hi-Fi Recordings of Award-Winning Compositions, Brilliantly Played By One of the Nation's Outstanding Symphony Orchestras

5451 PAUL CRESTON: Invocation and Dance. HEITOR VILLA-LOBOS: Overture. "Dawn in a Tropical Forest." HALSEY STEVENS: Triskelion.

5452 HENRY COWELL: Symphony No. 11. ALEXANDER TCHEREPNIN: Suite, Opus 87. BERNARD WAGENAAR: A Concert Overture.

5453 PETER MENNIN: Symphony No. 6. WALLINGFORD RIEGGER: Variations for Piano and Orchestra. (Benjamin Owen, Pianist). ERNST TOCH: Notturno.

5455 *JACQUES IBERT: Louisville Concerto.* GARDNER READ: Toccata Giocoso. OTTO LUENING-VLADIMIR USSACHEVSKY: Rhapsodic Variations for Tape Recorder and Orchestra.

5457 VINCENT PERSICHETTI: Symphony for Strings. ROBERT SANDERS: Little Symphony No. 2 in Bb. BORIS BLACHER: Studie im Pianissimo, Opus 45.

5458 LUIGI DALLAPICCOLA: Variazioni per Orchestra. JOSE PABLO MONCAYO: *Cumbres.* ULYSSES KAY: Serenade for Orchestra. DARIUS MILHAUD: Ouverture Mediterraneenne.

54510 ALBERTO GINASTERA: Pampeana No. 3, A Pastoral Symphony. WILLIAM BERGSMA: A Carol on Twelfth Night. HENRI SAUGUET: Les Trois Lys. ROBERT WARD: Euphony for Orchestra.

54511 GIAN-FRANCESCO MALIPIERO: Fantasie di Ogni Giorno. VITTORIO RIETI: Introduzione e Gioco Delle Ore. ERNST BACON: The Enchanted Island.

561 HILDING ROSENBERG: Louisville Concerto. CHOU WEN-CHUNG: And the Fallen Petals. CAMARGO GUARNIERI: Suite IV Centenario.

563 ERNST KRENEK: Eleven Transparencies. ROBERTO CAAMANO: Magnificat, Op. 20. Choir of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

574 ROGER SESSIONS: "Idyll of Theocritus" for Soprano and Orchestra (Audrey Nossaman, Soprano).

575 NED ROREM: Design for Orchestra. BERNARD REICHEL: Suite Symphonique.

576 EDMUND RUBBRA: Improvisation for Violin and Orchestra (Sidney Harth, Violinist). IRVING FINE: Serious Song: A Lament for String Orchestra. HAROLD MORRIS: Passacaglia, Adagio and Finale.

581 ALEXEI HAIEFF: Ballet in E. NICOLAS NABOKOV: Symboli Chrestiani for Baritone and Orchestra (William Pickett, Baritone).

582 LOU HARRISON: "Four Strict Songs" for Eight Baritones and Orchestra. PETER JONA KORN: Variations on a Tune from "The Beggar's Opera."

583 ELLIOTT CARTER: Variations for Orchestra. EVERETT HELM: Second Piano Concerto (Benjamin Owen, Pianist).

586 WALTER PISTON: Serenata. DAVID VAN VACTOR: Fantasia, Chaconne and Allegro. NIELS VIGGO BENTZON: Pezzi Sinfonici, Opus 109.

591 AARON COPLAND: Orchestral Variations. ALFONSO LETELIER: Aculeo, Suite for Orchestra.

596 BOHUSLAV MARTINU: Estampes. NIKOLAI LOPATNIKOFF: Music for Orchestra, Op. 39.

601 PAUL BEN-HAIM: *"To The Chief Musician" Metamorphoses* for orchestra. WALLINGFORD RIEGGER: Variations for Violin and Orchestra, Op. 71 (Sidney Harth, Soloist).

602 KLAUS EGGE: Symphony No. 3, Louisville Symphony. ROY HARRIS. "Kentucky Spring."

604 WILLIAM SCHUMAN: Judith, A Choreographic Poem. GIAN-FRANCESCO MALIPIERO: Piano Concerto No. 3 (Benjamin Owen, Soloist).

605 PAUL HINDEMITH: Sinfonietta in E. CLAUDE ALMOND: John Gilbert: A Steamboat Overture. DAVID DIAMOND: Overture: "Timon of Athens."

606 BERNARD ROGERS: Dance Scenes. JOAQUIN RODRIGO: Cuatros Madrigales Amatorios: for Soprano and Orchestra (Audrey Nossaman, Soprano). VINCENT PERSICHETTI: Serenade No. 5.

611 ELLIOTT CARTER: Symphony No. 1. ALEXEI HAIEFF: Divertimento.

614 ALAN HOVHANESS: Magnificat for Four Solo Voices, Chorus and Orchestra, Opus 157. CHOU WEN-CHUNG: All in the Spring Wind.

615 ALEXANDER TCHEREPNIN: Piano Concerto No. 2 (Alexander Tcherepnin, Pianist). ARTHUR HONEGGER: Suite Archaique.

616 ROBERT KURKA: Symphony No. 2. ROBERT WHITNEY: Concertino.

SEND NO MONEY — 6 RECORDS FOR $6.96 WILL BE MAILED YOU UPON RECEIPT OF THIS COUPON (UNTIL FEB. 28, 1962)

Richard Wangerin, Manager, LOUISVILLE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY
Suite 56, 830 S. Fourth St., Louisville 3, Ky.

Please enroll me as a subscriber for First Edition Records, and send me the 6 records whose numbers have been circled above. You may bill me a total of $6.96 for these 6.

I agree to purchase the next 6 new Louisville releases, one of which will be mailed to me on every alternate month for one year, at $6.96 each. (Or I will effect a $3.26 saving by making a single annual payment of $45.46 for all 12 records.)

I understand that I may discontinue this subscription at any time after purchasing the 6 new releases at $6.96 each, within the next 12 months, and that you will pay the postage on all records shipped to me. However, if I do not wish to cancel at the end of the first year, I will receive a free bonus record for each 2 new releases I receive thereafter.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

THIS OFFER EXPIRES AT MIDNIGHT, FEB. 27, 1962

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MAX ASCOLI

Can We Be Less Than Saintly?

THERE IS ONE major trouble with our nation's foreign policy: its purposes are so lofty that it is as hard for the outside world to believe in them as it is for us to live up to them. This trend has been apparent ever since the United States first tried to reconcile itself to its responsibilities as a world power. In attributing universal validity to the principles of nationality and self-determination, Woodrow Wilson had only the welfare of mankind at heart; and so had Franklin Roosevelt when at the Atlantic Conference he proclaimed the Four Freedoms, whose field of application was limited to everywhere in the world.

This moralistic, unselfish universalism does not brook contradiction by the mean realities of economics. Every human aggregate that is certified as a nation by the U.N. is considered susceptible to economic development and entitled to economic assistance—American, of course. Smallness, paucity of population and resources, constitute no valid grounds for exception. There are no longer underdeveloped nations but only developing ones. The potential for development has come to be considered innate with nationhood, and so is the next right in the natural law of development, the right to self-sustaining growth. Actually, few if any of the new national economies have shown any convincing indication of their capacity to reach this ultimate point of automation in the more or less self-propelling process of their growth. But some day or another, they will make it.

Once upon a time, in the days of John Foster Dulles, our friendliness toward a developing nation was graduated according to the aloofness it showed toward our Communist opponents. Neutrality, then, was considered a sin. Now, it is an evidence of virtue—one more natural right, to whose enjoyment every developing nation is entitled while it is rocking along on its way toward self-sustaining growth.

NO WONDER that our economic assistance to developing areas has been the object of widespread and sometimes atrocious misinterpretations. We have been accused of colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, and perfidious schemes of all types, by friends and foes alike. Some of our major allies still suspect us of being in the market, trying to buy at a discount the empires they have to liquidate. Our enemies have no doubt as to our aims which, naturally, are nothing but capitalistic exploitation. But if we only stop to consider our record in the developing areas, and how, well before Khrushchev, we did our best to speed up decolonization, how we pushed the Dutch out of Indonesia, and urged the French to get out of North Africa—we ourselves have to admit that our selfless nobility is somewhat embarrassing. Only angels should behave that way.

But no one can accuse our enemies of conducting themselves nobly or naïvely in Asia, Africa, or Latin America. They have done what was to be expected of them. They conduct their foreign policy for high profits. Our two major enemies, Russia and Red China, seem to be engaged in a fierce rivalry that may offer the only genuine indication of what the Communists mean by competitive coexistence, for both have the same standards and the same goal. In Africa particularly, this goal is frighteningly clear. Millions upon millions of human beings face the risk of being carried along from tribalistic to Communist barbarism, entirely skipping a freedom they have never known, and at the cost of a suffering they themselves can never measure. At least in some of the developing countries, it is quite possible that a semblance of economic progress may be achieved by self-sustaining Communist tyranny.

The conflict between the western and the Communist powers in the backward areas has offered huge opportunities to a number of local leaders who are far from backward in making the best of the power that, somehow, has fallen into their hands. For some reason, these characters—the Nkrumahs, the Sukarnos—are always on the move, visiting each other, and then the great capitals of the West, and then those of the East, exacting everywhere a tribute of ceremonial pageantry that is the nearest substitute for legitimacy.

The best that can be said of those men is that they are not too secure in their own power, as their constant fluttering about the world shows. As long as they are not too secure and somewhat removable, there are no reasons why their countries should not be the object of careful, clinical economic assistance. Indeed, our nation has the duty to give such assistance wherever economic and political realms are disassociated, and when the citizens have some measure of independence and privacy in their community and from their community. We do not subsidize slavery.

OR IT MAY happen that the peoples of some territories refuse to become economically or politically developed and find in tribalism their suitable form of privacy. After all, there is no compulsion to become civilized, and we should have learned something from the Congo.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Red Rivalry in the Black Continent

GORDON BROOK-SHEPHERD

ALBANIA may be the tiny symbol of the rivalry between Russia and Red China, but the vast continent of Africa is emerging as their first real battleground. This is the conclusion of a variety of western experts in London who are comparing their researches into the Sino-Soviet struggle for the African mind.

The Chinese bring several natural advantages into this tussle of the Communist titans. Unlike the Russians, they are neither white nor half-European. Thus they are neither targets of racial resentment nor entangled in "remote" issues like Berlin. Further, as participants of the original (1955) Bandung Conference, they can parade as true "founder members" of the Afro-Asian club.

Above all, as peasant revolutionaries tackling industrialization with savage ferocity, they can claim affinities with these raw African states which the Russians, already challenging America for the technological leadership of the world, could never hope to possess. To many Africans, the Muscovite appears as the city slicker, the Chinese as the peasant boy who is fast making good.

Peking was relatively slow to see the strength of the hand it holds. But it has now begun to play these trumps with a mixture of arrogance and cunning that has already forced Russia on the defensive in some regions of the Dark Continent.

The scale of the Chinese game has expanded dramatically during the last two years. Western intelligence has identified no fewer than seven separate Chinese organizations, all working in complex partnership at the task of penetrating Africa. All have been founded since the spring of 1960, and three within the last twelve months. They are:

¶ The Committee for the Support of Afro-Asian Emancipation Movements, set up in May, 1960, with foreign military aid as its most important sub-branch.

¶ The Institute for African Affairs, established in January 1961, to train African Communist Party members. Last summer, about sixty of these picked recruits were undergoing instruction in Peking.

¶ The Directorate for African Affairs at the Chinese foreign ministry, created in October, 1960.

¶ The Commission for Cultural Relations with the African People, set up in the same month to control the operations of all agents sent abroad.

¶ The Committee for the Study of African Affairs, which came to life at the beginning of 1961.

¶ The China-Africa Friendship Society, set up in April, 1960, to promote cultural and economic exchanges.

¶ The Chinese People's Committee for the Aid of African Countries against Aggression. This was started in January, 1961, seemingly for general propaganda purposes.

It is typical of the Communist technique that the labels on these poison bottles are often switched, but as one British expert put it, "Though the layout is as complicated as a Chinese jigsaw, the final pattern is clear enough."

How do these seven organizations, intertwined with such relatively straightforward bodies as the New China News Agency and Red Chinese missions in Africa, set about their task?

In orthodox economic penetration, Peking's thrust has so far been relatively modest. No exact totals are known for Africa, but the breakdown of all Communist aid to underdeveloped areas throughout the world is thought to hold good for that continent as well. One very recent western estimate puts the value of all Communist-orbit credits and grants to the underdeveloped countries since 1954 at $5.2 billion. Of this Russia alone has provided $3.8 billion; its European satellites, with Czechoslovakia far in the lead, more than $1 billion; and Red China a mere $380 million.

In Africa as elsewhere, China does its best to compensate for its comparatively slender contributions by offering attractive terms. While Russian credits are usually at about 2.5 per cent, with repayment up to twelve years, China, as in the case of a $25-million offer to Guinea, often comes up with interest-free grants.

This adjusts but cannot reverse the balance. In terms of normal aid to Africa, China, for obvious economic reasons, cannot yet match the Soviet and satellite effort, which has now expended, for example, about $114 million in Ethiopia, more than $100 million in Guinea, and $44 million in Mali.

From Algeria to Zanzibar

On the vital front of student "penetration" in the African states, China also lags quantitatively. The latest confidential charts drawn up by American international student exchange officials based in London show a total of 1,166 scholarships allotted at Soviet and satellite universities to twenty-six African countries, ranging alphabetically from Algeria to Zanzibar. Russia, as usual, takes the biggest slice—a total of 441, of whom 186 are from Guinea and sixty from the Sudan. (East Germany, oddly enough, comes a fairly close second, with a current total of 320 African students in courses.) China's effort is put by the same sources at about one-third of the Soviet bloc's total. Only in the case of Somalia, to which China has offered over two hundred scholarships, and the former Belgian Congo, which is thought to have actually sent about 140 students to Peking, is the Chinese "blackboard offensive" on an ambitious scale.

In the field of culture, as in finance, China makes up for lack of quantity

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by unorthodox methods. Throughout Africa, the Russians have so far concentrated on fairly straightforward cultural pacts, backed up by information centers and standard exchange systems. China gets down to the jungle roots of the continent.

One of the most successful Chinese ventures to date, for example, was an extensive African tour made by a group of fifty jugglers and acrobats. One western diplomat who attended their performance at Addis Ababa described it as "a giant indoor gymnastic circus of the highest professional caliber." The visit had all the trappings of a state occasion. The Chinese troupe was brought down from Khartoum, where it had been playing the previous week, by the Communist Chinese ambassador to the Sudan, and the Emperor Haile Selassie turned up at the first show. The cast played to packed houses and earned plaudits by turning over all their profits to charity.

This was not the only piece of diplomatic sleight-of-hand the Chinese jugglers performed. In Ethiopia, as elsewhere on their African travels, they started spinning slogans as soon as they had stopped spinning plates. And they left behind them a copious stock of Arabic phonograph records with a "message." As the same western official said: "There is probably no doubt that the ordinary African takes his dialectics more easily from an acrobat than from a professor."

In radio broadcasting, the third major field of overt penetration, China is holding its own with Russia in sheer volume as well as sounding more appealing in tone. The day-and-night struggle over the air between Peking and Moscow to win the ear of Africa is, in fact, one of the most revealing aspects of the whole Sino-Soviet struggle.

Within four years, Radio Peking has built up, virtually from nothing, a round-the-clock overseas propaganda machine that operates in nearly thirty languages. The transmitters' services in various African tongues now total ninety-one hours a week. This far exceeds the volume of any other single station in the world and compares with Radio Moscow's African broadcast total of 54½ hours a week. Indeed, the Kremlin has managed to keep abreast of this tremendous Chinese effort only by relying heavily on its supporting satellite stations. East European transmitters (especially in Czechoslovakia and East Germany) now devote an estimated fifty hours a week to their African programs, thus enabling the Moscow line to keep a nose ahead.

Nor can there be any doubt that this is a regular radio war, with each side countering the latest thrust of its rival. Semi-official monitors in Britain listen in on this confused and crackly conflict. One of them told me that in October the Soviet Union suddenly rearranged its entire program schedule for Africa in such a way that the majority of Moscow's African broadcasts now come on the air at the same time and in the same language as Peking's.

A few weeks earlier the Chinese had done something equally "unfraternal" to the Russians. When Moscow doubled its Swahili program to the Bantus, Peking, which had hitherto kept out of this field, suddenly launched a Swahili service of its own that equaled the increased Soviet effort. A short time ago, Moscow introduced a special Friday program in its African service entitled "Calling Africa." Peking promptly countered with a special feature of its own entitled "Greeting Africa," which has been on the air Sundays once a week ever since.

Two Brands of Poison

But it is not so much the equal exertions of the Chinese as their consistently more ferocious approach which is the really important thing in this battle of the transmitters. When it talks to Africa, Radio Peking is daemonic, extremist, ruthless, and above all revolutionary. It preaches a Marxism red in tooth and claw that is prepared to tear the whole universe apart to achieve its aims. By comparison, Moscow appears almost sober in tone, stressing the inevitability of the triumph of the "socialist camp," and hence implying that time, rather than terror, may be Africa's best ally.

I asked London's professional monitors to find me a recent typical example of this clash, which resounds in every language and every program of the rival propaganda machines. They suggested this one.

On November 30, after a fortnight of fairly promising kite-flying over the Berlin crisis, Radio Moscow announced with satisfaction: "There is a feeling of optimism in the air which is reflected also in the international situation. . . . The political climate has improved lately in spite of the imperialists. . . . The change for the better has come about thanks to the beneficial influence of our ideology, our recent Party Congress, and our plan for economic development."

The very next day, Peking Radio gave Africans this view of the contemporary world scene: "The danger of a new war persists and people everywhere must be more vigilant than ever. . . . The Kennedy administration, while making false pretenses about peace, is preparing for war on an unprecedented scale and at an unprecedented pace. It is making preparations for an all-out nuclear war and for limited wars, big and small. Only when the imperialist and capitalist systems are wiped off the surface of the earth can peace be ensured . . ."

That pair of quotations sums up the central argument between China and Russia as the Africans, among others, are now hearing it. Is coexistence and even collaboration with non-Communist governments permissible as a tactical means to the long-term goal of Communism, as Khrushchev holds? Or, as Peking insists, must the very thought of such contacts, whatever pragmatic dividends they bring, always remain abhorrent to the true Marxist, who fears defilement by the capitalist pitch he is touching?

The Sino-Soviet rivalry in Africa provides a faithful mirror of this dispute. Up and down the continent, the two powers are actually beginning to put their opposing policies to a practical test. The first signs of this appeared soon after November, 1960, when the ideological gap between them was accepted by both sides as being unbreachable. And today, at half a dozen neuralgic points in Africa, the Communist battle of the air waves is being fought out on the ground as well.

The general pattern is that Russia, true to its policy of getting rid of the imperialists first and installing local Communists second, is working

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

through the established governments of a country—even if, as in Ethiopia, that government is headed by the Lion of Judah himself. The Chinese, who regard the victory of the "revolutionaries" as the only means of ousting the imperialists, scorn any government that might not quickly fall in their pockets (meaning that the Chinese consistently cold-shoulder all of them with a few exceptions like Guinea and Ghana).

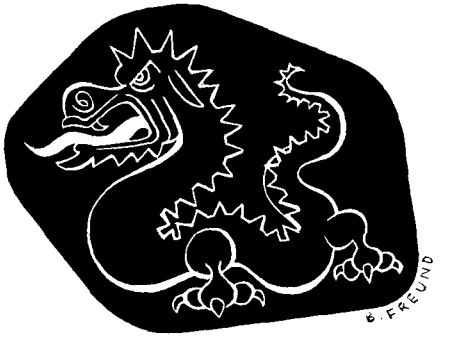
In places like Dahomey, Togo, Senegal, the Niger Republic, the Upper Volta, the Sudan, and the Ivory Coast, it is the leaders of the opposition, the apostles of blood and violence, whom they sponsor. This was shown by a four-month tour made of all those countries last spring by Lin Chang-sheng, a member of the central committee of the Chinese Communist Party and vice-president of the Chinese trade-union movement. It was extremist leaders like Assi Camille Adam of the Ivory Coast whom he sought out and invited to Peking with, of course, all the smaller fry of similar views in the local trade unions and youth movements. Once in Peking, the African opposition leaders have been liberally supplied with cash and encouragement, while the rank and file have been trained in sabotage and guerrilla warfare whenever they can be persuaded to "volunteer."

Mr. Chang Goes to Mogadishu

Like the propaganda battle, this fast-developing conflict on the ground in Africa can best be illustrated by studying one example. All the allied experts in London agree that the classic case to emerge so far is Somalia. One of them ruefully remarked: "There was a time when we used to kid ourselves into thinking that the Russians and the Chinese had agreed on an amicable division of spheres of influence in Africa. As late as two years ago we thought their over-all plan might be to leave West Africa primarily to the Chinese and East Africa to the Russians. That theory got shaken to pieces—if it was ever sound—by developments after the Communist split of November, 1960. And the place in Africa where China is moving in fast, and with a vengeance, on so-called Soviet preserves is Somalia."

Last June, Peking sent one of its top Arab experts and troublemakers, Chang Yueh, to take over the Red Chinese embassy at Mogadishu, the Somali capital. Before this, he had been envoy in the nearby Yemen, which, according to one western source, he succeeded in infiltrating pretty thoroughly for Mao Tse-tung with a force of more than five hundred Chinese "road builders."

Despite the fact that Peking has no financial stake in Somalia (that is still left to the Russians), Chang Yueh rapidly assembled in the small capital an embassy staff of nearly forty officials, most of them Arabic-speaking. Their clear purpose was to



stir up subversion, and they found a ready-made native spoon to hand—the extremist "National Union" movement that agitates for the absorption of all Somalis living across the borders in Ethiopia and Kenya.

Russia is inhibited from following suit, first because of its policy of working through the established government in Mogadishu and second because of its large investments and interests in Ethiopia itself. All the influence it has bought so expensively with Haile Selassie would be wiped out at one blow if Moscow started backing the secession of a large number of his subjects.

Peking thus races on unchallenged in the field to carry the Pan-Somali colors. Chang Yueh's minions tour the country, dispensing cash and encouragement to extremist leaders, especially in the disputed Ogaden western border area and the southern region along the Kenya frontier. Pan-Somali opposition politicians like Aboker Hamud Sokoro are periodically feted in Peking, and at least one of them is known to have a secret numbered banking account in Zürich, fed from China's precious hard-currency reserves.

Moscow is doing its best with orthodox countermeasures. A Soviet credit of about $15 million has been extended to Somalia, and the Russians are currently reported to be negotiating the construction of a fifty-kilowatt radio station in Mogadishu, which is presumably intended as an African "beachhead" for their own propaganda.

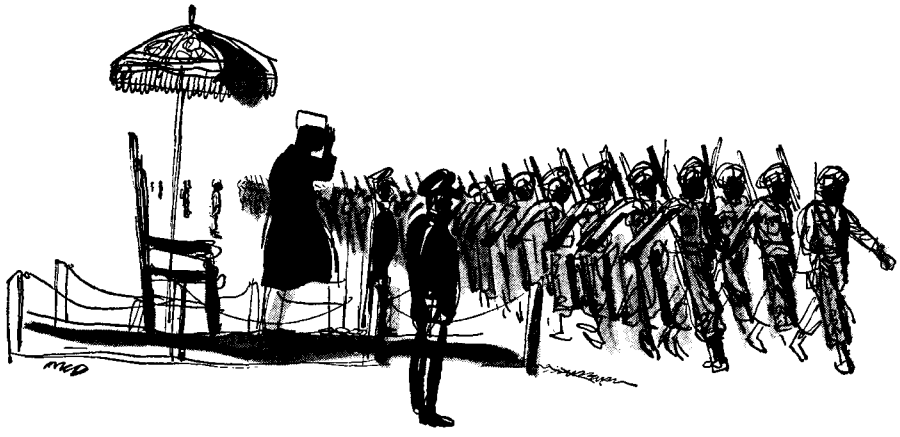
But the contest is like jungle warfare where ten regular soldiers are needed to keep one guerrilla under control. By fomenting militant extremism and by blowing romantic pipe dreams of a Greater Somalia, China makes the greater impact.

During the last six months, western experts in London have anxiously watched this Sino-Soviet rivalry in Somalia spread to the dangerous field of armaments. Somali government leaders who toured the Soviet bloc in 1961 brought back from Moscow and Prague a virtual blank check for military supplies. Then, in the early fall, western intelligence reported that Somali extremists on visits to Peking had been offered large stocks of Chinese weapons at bargain prices.

Britain and its NATO partner Italy, the former rulers of Somaliland, put their heads together. The result was an Anglo-Italian offer, passed secretly to Mogadishu a few weeks ago, for $840,000 worth of British and Italian armored cars, mortars, and light artillery. It is thought in London that the offer has a good chance of acceptance and that any military rot in Somalia may have been stopped for the time being. But no one expects either the Chinese or the Russians to remain idle on the armaments front for long.

In Africa, the Red Dragon and the Soviet Bear have entered the ring against each other from different ideological corners. In many areas, like the Sudan, they are still fencing for openings. In others, like Angola and South Africa, both have remained mysteriously passive. In one or two countries, like Somalia, they have openly come to grips. All observers here agree that the outcome of their tussle will determine the long-range leadership of the Communist world.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



An Indian Report On the Goan Crisis

B. SHIVA RAO

NEW DELHI

INDIA is still in a mood of jubilation, going through a phase of initial reactions to the swift success of its resort to arms in liquidating the Portuguese pockets of Goa, Damão, and Diu on its west coast. The brief duration of the military operations—barely two days, if mopping-up operations are excluded—and the extremely light casualities, three killed and a few wounded on the Indian side, have led Mr. Nehru to point out the great efficiency of India's armed forces and the lack of local support for Portuguese rule.

Before Indian troops marched into these Portuguese pockets, Mr. Nehru had been subjected to withering criticism, both in and out of parliament, for lack of vigor in safeguarding India's interests and security. J. B. Kripalani, V. K. Krishna Menon's opponent in the coming elections for the North Bombay seat in parliament, had derisively told Mr. Nehru in a parliamentary debate that he seemed to have had no qualms about sending Indian troops to the Congo but was hesitant only in dealing with Chinese aggression on the Himalayan borders and the continuance of Portuguese colonialism in Goa, Damão, and Diu.

Such criticisms came from different political groups and even from elements within Mr. Nehru's own Congress Party. On China's aggression into Ladakh and at different points in the Himalayan regions, the record of Mr. Nehru's government has been one of complete failure and bitter disillusionment. For some years after China's occupation of Tibet, he continued to cherish the hope, against all evidence of hostile intent, that China's Communist rulers would adhere to their commitment to his famous five principles of nonaggression, noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries, etc. In 1954, Mr. Nehru concluded a trade agreement with China, brushing aside the warnings and fears expressed in parliament by men like Kripalani. Defiantly he told his critics, "This is the finest achievement to the credit of my government since independence."

At no time was criticism of Mr. Nehru's foreign policy sharper or more reasoned than in the last session of parliament—the final one before the general elections in February. "Twelve thousand square miles of India's territory in Ladakh have been occupied by the Chinese and Mr. Nehru issues another White Paper" was a typical biting comment. Outside parliament, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, the eighty-two-year-old founder of the Swatantra Party, who has been campaigning all over India with astonishing vitality against what he considers to be the pro-Communist policies of the Nehru administration, has repeatedly drawn attention to the growing rapprochement between China and India's neighbors such as Burma, Bhutan, and Nepal. In his view, India will gradually be isolated by China as a preliminary to further acts of aggression.

FOR REASONS of their own, Indian Communists had been trying for some months to create a critical situation in Goa. China's aggressive policy in Tibet and the Himalayan regions had been a source of considerable embarrassment to them, resulting in a clear divergence of opinion between two factions, one favoring a nationalist line and the other eager to minimize the danger from China. Khrushchev's anti-Stalinism led to greater confusion in their ranks, damaging still further their position in the country. If only a diversion could be created in regard to Portuguese colonialism, it would be an obvious advantage for the party. They could claim to be as strident nationalists as the most enthusiastic members of the Congress Party and also allay to some extent the suspicions with which they have been regarded by non-Communist elements in the country.

A strong personal consideration reinforced this line of Communist strategy—the possibility of improving Krishna Menon's electoral prospects (which were drooping) in North Bombay. In the 1957 elections, skirmishes on the Goa border had paid handsome dividends to Communist and pro-Communist candidates. Candidates who had attempted entry into Goa and were either hurt or arrested and were subsequently released by the Portuguese authorities had scored notable successes in the constituencies located in the Bombay region. The Communists are now working strenuously for Krishna Menon's success in the next elections. A spectacular entry into Goa at this juncture, it was the general belief, might swing an appreciable number of votes in favor of Krishna Menon.

While the military build-up for the invasion of Goa was in progress a few weeks ago, Mr. Rajagopalachari bluntly referred to it as "an election stunt"—an accusation Mr. Nehru indignantly repudiated

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as "astonishing and astounding." The denial, for all its vehemence, has failed to carry conviction, at least so far as Krishna Menon is concerned. For weeks preceding the march into Goa, Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, a former mayor of Delhi and a well-known supporter of all Communist causes, spearheaded a "liberation movement" with headquarters at Belgaum, only eighty miles from the Goan border.

The constant pressure on Mr. Nehru to do something effective somewhere was not limited to groups within India. Two recent conferences on colonial problems, one in New Delhi and the other in Bombay, in which a number of African delegates took an active part, focused practically all their attention on the uncompromising colonial policy pursued by Portugal in the U.N. Mr. Nehru yielded to the demands of these conferences to the extent of restating at one of them that "armed intervention is not ruled out" for the release of Goa and the other two areas from Portuguese domination. He has been uneasily conscious, since making the statement, that it was a major departure from Gandhi's creed of nonviolence and the principles of the U.N. Charter—a point underscored at the New Delhi session by Finance Minister Morarji Desai, who intervened to point out that India's tradition would permit use of force only in self-defense.

INDIA'S ACTION has received warm support from many quarters, notably in Asia and Africa. President Brezhnev of the Soviet Union has expressed his approval in more than one speech in his tour of India. These sentiments have been welcomed in the country as indicating a sympathetic appreciation of the Indian standpoint. For the Communists in particular, recent developments have been a source of much encouragement. The four-power resolution before the Security Council, sponsored by the United States, Britain, France, and Turkey, enabled Ajoy Ghosh, the general secretary of the Communist Party of India, to draw a contrast between the attitude of the western powers toward India's occupation of Goa and that of the Soviet Union, which vetoed the resolution.

What has caused some surprise in India is the expression of approval of India's action by Communist China, following a long period of bitterly hostile propaganda against Mr. Nehru and his government, culminating in a threat to cross the McMahon Line should India continue to strengthen its defenses along the northern border. There were warnings in parliament in the recent debates against weakening India's defenses in the Himalayan regions for the sake of asserting its rights in respect of Goa. Mr. Masani, the able secretary of the Swatantra Party, asked:

"Is this the moment when we should give the highest priority to the liberation of Goa, on which the Communists are keen? Their point of view is easily understandable. . . .

Should we, at this moment, thin our resources of men and materiel on our Himalayan frontier, where they are badly required? Will not such a policy expose India to further aggression, marked by the same unhappy absence of retaliation and resistance against Chinese aggression with which we are familiar?"

Mr. Masani's view secured authoritative support from General Cariappa, a brilliant soldier and the first chief of the Indian Army after independence. The Chinese would not have threatened to cross the McMahon line, he said, "unless they meant business." They had not withdrawn from their winter positions in the forward areas along the Himalayas in spite of India's efforts to persuade China to do so. "India must be prepared," he warned, "to face greater shocks than those experienced when Chinese leaders callously spurned and abrogated their acceptance of *panchsheel*" (the five principles first enunciated by Mr. Nehru). General Cariappa read a sinister meaning into China's "wooing of the border kingdoms," referring to Nepal and Bhutan. He added:

"Portugal has now threatened to cross the Indian border and attack us as China has done in regard to the McMahon Line. India does not possess an army of millions to fight on various fronts. What we want immediately are large bodies of infantry units, lightly equipped with adequate air support all over the north and northeastern borders, troops trained in guerrilla warfare to supplement the land forces; also large numbers of paratroops to be dropped at vital points all along the frontiers whenever necessary. The Chinese have an army of over five million, while India's is not even three-fourths of a million."

IT MAY BE CONCEDED that one warning at least has proved superfluous, since the military action against Portugal took no more than two days and is already complete. But China's explicit approval of this action seems significant. Unlike India, China is not a member of the U.N., and is therefore not committed to the principles of the Charter. Consequently, China may feel free to take the same kind of action as India has done in Goa in respect of any territories in the Himalayan regions to which it thinks it has a claim. The real testing time for India will not come until the winter snows on these high altitudes have melted. Until next spring at least, India has time for reflection and preparation.

A growing number of Indians are already coming to feel that the occupation of Goa created a precedent that may boomerang—on India's borders and elsewhere. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari spoke for many when he stated: "Our nationalism has, I fear, led us into impatience at the wrong moment, when in the international world there is trouble brewing everywhere . . ."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Afghanistan: A House Without Doors

DENIS WARNER

KABUL

SIX YEARS AGO, when I came here for the first time, even the revolution of rising expectations seemed to have by-passed Afghanistan. It was a land of camel paths and donkey trails, of poverty, malnutrition, ignorance, superstition, and neglect. No one knew the size of its population or its per capita cash income, but about twelve million and twenty dollars were the usual guesses. Each winter hundreds of thousands of nomadic herdsmen drove their flocks south through Pakistan to the Indus plain. Others huddled together in their mud-and-thatch forts, barely subsisting.

Next to Yemen and Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan was the most conservative of Moslem countries. Its women saw their neighbors through the meshed visor of a shapeless costume that covered them head to toe. Kabul was the most desolate of all capitals, its streets alternately mudholes or dust heaps, according to the season, but bearable only when they were frozen in the depths of winter. The Hotel Kabul charged less than a dollar a day—and was expensive at the price. If there was wealth anywhere, it was nowhere evident. Even the pageantry of the Middle Eastern kingdoms was missing. The royal oligarchy ruled firmly but without pomp or show. Its troops often went barefoot.

Landlocked, weather-worn, and friendless, Afghanistan had appealed to the United States for aid. It got a little—a loan of $21 million in 1950, another $700,000 in 1953, some wheat worth $1.5 million, a grant of the same size and two further loans of $18.5 million in 1954, and $39.5 million in 1955. The loans came from the Export-Import Bank and went to the slow-moving irrigation and land-reclamation project in the Helmand Valley. The average Afghan noticed no change.

Change came only with competitive coexistence, and largely because the Soviet Union has matched every American dollar since 1956—about $100 million—with approximately two of its own.

High in the blue winter skies are the vapor trails of Russian-made Afghan-piloted jet bombers and fighters. The troops not only have shoes and automatic rifles but T54 tanks. North toward the Soviet border, Russian engineers are burrowing through the peaks of the Hindu Kush Mountains to build the most spectacular stretch of a thirteen-hundred-mile circuit of highways that will sweep in a broad circle around the country, linking the interior towns and villages with the new factory areas and the markets of Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, and Mazar-i-Sharif. Oil has begun to flow from new wells in the northwest. Textile mills, sugar refineries, and cement factories have sprung up. Women have thrown off the veil and are working side by side with men in factories and in Kabul University. The new Hotel Kabul is ten times more expensive than the old, and fifty times better.

Khrushchev Was Here

The changes should not be exaggerated. Men and women still work as human beasts of burden, staggering along the roads under crippling loads. Kabul is still unsewered and perhaps less healthy than it was when farmers came with their donkeys to cart away the night soil which householders are now required to dispose of themselves. The unwary pedestrian may fall through a manhole into a partly covered drain. The markets offer a wide range of consumer goods, but prices are high. Inflation has hurt the poorly paid government servants and corruption is becoming more widespread. Yet Afghanistan is moving ahead, and much more rapidly than anyone might have guessed before Bulganin and Khrushchev came this way late in 1955.

America's early reluctance to upset its allies in Pakistan and Iran by giving the Afghans weapons gave the Russians an opportunity, and the terms of Russian economic loans may mean that more and more Afghan trade will be diverted from the West and toward the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, gratitude for Russian help is not expressed in converts to Communism. The Communist Party, like all other parties, is illegal. For years the Russians failed to persuade the Afghans to let them help in education, while the United States has been busy in such matters as the preparation of textbooks in Persian, in technical and vocational education, in teaching English, and in the establishment of the faculties of agriculture and engineering at Kabul University.

Afghanistan remains, in fact, a strict and conservative Moslem state, oriented more toward Iran and the Middle East than toward its Russian, Chinese, and Pakistani neighbors. Not all women—and certainly not all men—approved of women's emergence from purdah: in Kandahar, for instance, tanks had to be called to restore order. The power of the mullahs is still strong. Russian money is acceptable; Russian ideology is not.

Yet westerners here say that the Russians have made more friends in the past six months than they made in all the preceding postwar years. The estimate does not seem farfetched. U.S. aid equipment valued at $10 million is piled up in Pakistan and may not cross the border. Trade with the West has all but dried up. The Russian rich uncles have suddenly become guardian angels. Their fleets of jet transport planes saved the Afghan vineyards from economic disaster by whisking the grape crop, usually sold to India and Pakistan, to Tashkent. The Russians agreed that Afghanistan could use their communication system to continue trade with the West, and hinted that even western aid might move through the Soviet Union.

MOSCOW can afford to be generous. While not responsible for the Afghan-Pakistani border dispute, it can only profit from it. Afghanistan

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

feels that its future as an independent neutral state depends on its ability to trade freely with both East and West. Otherwise it must either be drawn into the economic, and eventually the political, orbit of its Russian neighbor or face the prospect of dismemberment. Yet the way to the Middle East is blocked by the deserts of eastern Iran and western Afghanistan, while Pakistan holds the passes to the Arabian Sea.

Afghanistan's approach has been to agitate for the creation of Pushtunistan, which would carve a window to the West out of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province and other border regions. Since the tribesmen who live on both sides of the border are Pathans and since these people make up about sixty per cent of Afghanistan's population, the new state would, by implication, become part of Afghanistan. The Afghans deny this and insist that all they want is the right of self-determination for the Pathans.

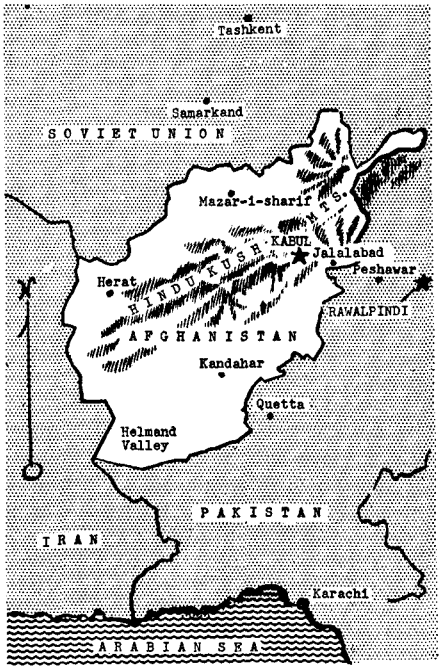
In 1947, those living south of the Afghan border were called upon to decide whether they wished the region to become part of Pakistan or part of India. The majority of those who voted, being Moslems, chose Pakistan, but the plebiscite covered only the administered frontier regions, omitting the considerable areas over which the British forces never had control. Given the chance, the Afghans say, the Pathans would have voted for Pushtunistan. Pakistan's recent answer to this has been to propose a plebiscite throughout Afghanistan and to suggest that Afghan districts inhabited by those who do not speak Pushtu be united with neighboring countries on a linguistic and ethnic basis.

In 1955, when Pakistan closed the border to the transit of goods in and out of Afghanistan, Russia saw its opportunity. It provided Kabul with gasoline, transit rights, and military assistance. At that time, nobody took Russian economic aid very seriously. Kabul's paved streets, its bakery, and its oil-storage tanks, all of which were the result of Russian aid, were regarded primarily as propaganda gestures.

Though the Afghans remained suspicious of Pakistan after the border reopened, Pushtunistan went back into cold storage and relations between the two countries slowly began to improve. "Given about three years, I think we might have forgotten about Pushtunistan for all time," says one western ambassador here. "The Afghans had their access to the West."

Pushtunistan Again

The advent of General Ayub Khan as president of Pakistan in 1958 upset the status quo. The general is a tidy man and the unadministered regions of the North-West Frontier were untidy. Ayub Khan decided to clean them up. Afghanistan reacted angrily. If the unadministered regions of the North-West Frontier came under Pakistani administration, the dream of Pushtunistan would dis-



appear for all time. Thereafter, the access to the West would be opened or closed according to Pakistan's whim and fancy.

The Afghans decided to stir up the border tribes. In September, 1960, they reinforced one tribe with a substantial force of regular Afghan troops disguised as tribesmen. In the ensuing battle the ruse was discovered. Early last year, there were further border incidents and again Afghan-backed tribes fared badly.

On both sides there were formal expressions of disappointment that relations had deteriorated. Privately, however, the Pakistanis indicated grave misgivings. They offered Kabul talks with the suggestion that Pushtunistan not be discussed. Kabul reacted predictably and became even angrier in June when Pakistan complained that consular officials in Kandahar and Jalalabad no longer were served in Afghan stores and could not get Afghan servants to work for them.

Every year in Kabul, affairs of state are cast aside in the latter part of August while the country spreads itself on the week-long celebration of Jashan, the anniversary of independence. Pakistan chose this time to be firm. It demanded a decision on its complaint. The Afghans, preoccupied with the impending festivities, did not reply.

On August 24, the first day of the celebrations, Pakistan announced that it was closing its consulates at Kandahar and Jalalabad. Sardar Mohammed Daud, the Afghan prime minister, was unprepared for the shock, when, on the following day, a second note demanded the closing of the Afghan consulates at Quetta and Peshawar within two weeks.

Five days later the Afghans replied that they would break off diplomatic relations unless Pakistan withdrew its demands. Pakistan refused, and on September 6 the Afghan consulates in Pakistan closed. The two countries withdrew their embassies, and trade came to a halt as the border closed to the passage of goods, including supplies for western embassies in Kabul.

PAKISTAN got all the blame for the collapse of the transit traffic. Since all goods destined for Afghanistan were unloaded in Karachi, receipted by Afghan officials, and checked again by the trade agencies in Quetta and Peshawar, the expulsion of the trade agencies destroyed the machinery of the transit trade, the Afghans said.

There seems no reason, other than loss of face, why goods should not be cleared directly at the border. But this solution is rejected by the Afghans. As a temporary expedient, they suggest, it might work, but the final result would be that the trade would cease to be a right and become a favor, to be bestowed or withdrawn as Pakistan sees fit.

Angry and frustrated, the Afghans tend to blame Britain, a traditional

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

foe, and to a lesser extent the United States for Pakistan's intransigence. Always critical and even fearful of western military aid to Pakistan, they are sure that the Pakistani Army has plans to invade Afghanistan, an impression that some officers at Rawalpindi do nothing to discount.

In September, Foreign Minister Prince Naim flew to Moscow, where the Soviets once again agreed to provide transit for goods that normally pass through Pakistan. Purchase of the grape crop, usually worth about $1 million to Afghanistan, was a bonus, though instead of much-needed foreign exchange, it earned only a credit entry on the barter agreement.

The feasibility of diverting all of Afghanistan's normal transit trade through the Soviet Union is open to serious question, however. There is little reason to believe that the Russians can really make good their promise. Goods that came through this route six years ago turned up in poor shape, and the completion of the vital tunnel link through the Hindu Kush Mountains, which will shorten the journey from the Russian-built Oxus River ports to Kabul by about five or six hours and cut off 120 miles of extremely bad road, will be a long and difficult job.

MEANWHILE, the deadlock continues. The Afghans demand the restoration of the trade agencies and consulates and say they will settle for nothing less. Ayub Khan has publicly committed himself to keeping them closed, and he is not prepared to go further than recommending the appointment of liaison officers to discuss the trade block.

The Afghans are sure that American pressure, properly applied, would force Pakistan to back down. Pakistan, on its part, feels that American policy toward neutrals like Afghanistan has been flabby. It neither consulted with nor advised the United States of its intention to expel the Afghan consulates and trade agencies, and professed to be unmoved by the argument that this sort of action would tend to drive the Afghans closer to the Soviet Union.

According to one Pakistani view, Afghanistan has already sold out to the Kremlin. A second opinion, shared by Ayub Khan, was that the Daud government was afraid of committing itself too deeply with the Russians and would quickly come to terms. Both conclusions have proved erroneous and damaging to western interests.

After Indifference, Inertia

Under the circumstances it is less than surprising that the Russians now have won Afghan gratitude. The early American inclination to give no more than token economic aid—and not to give military aid at all—was followed in 1957 by more substantial economic allocations. Too often, however, inertia succeeded indifference. For instance, although funds were made available for the construction of five buildings at Kabul University in 1957, Pacific Architects and Engineers, Inc., which got the contract in January, 1958, did not deliver the plans and specifications for nearly two years. Planning on the American-supported sector of the 1,300-mile highway took many months and to the Afghans seemed painfully slow in comparison with the Russians' speed in getting started.

"We are not ungrateful for American aid. It has helped us in all sorts of ways; but you must remember that many of the things we asked the Americans to do the Russians have done for us," said a Foreign Office official. "We pleaded for American aid in 1952, 1953, and 1954. We were very hopeful when Nixon came in 1955. But Bulganin and Khrushchev understood our problems better."

In the hope that the Americans, the West Germans, and others might together match the Russian commitment, the Afghans have postponed their Second Five-Year Plan from last September until March.

The Germans have pledged more than $60 million, but with millions' worth of U.S. road-building equipment already held up in Pakistan, the prospects of the long-term American aid that the Afghans want are not very bright. Now the Russians are in a position to attach strings to their aid, to be allowed to "help educationally." It is also widely believed here that a substantial Russian military mission will arrive soon.

The Afghans pin their faith on the hope that either the United States will put sufficient pressure on Pakistan to reopen transit facilities or that the government of Ayub Khan will be replaced by a more sympathetic administration. Neither seems likely, and the immediate prospects for a settlement seem worse rather than better. Pakistan has also brought the Afghan nomads into the dispute, denying them and their herds entry into Pakistan for the traditional winter pasturing. Between 200,000 and 300,000 men, women, and children are affected. Unless they are allowed to cross the border, they and their herds will perish in the snow, for there are no winter pastures for them in Afghanistan. If they do go on, they risk death at the hands of the border guards. Though to date they have been quiet, it would not be like these people to choose to die meekly rather than to fight for life.

Buffer in the Balance

On all counts, the need for a settlement of the dispute is urgent. It is far from insoluble. Pushtunistan, the state that never was and almost certainly never will be, reflects the instinct of self-preservation on the part of Afghanistan, not chauvinistic ambition. Some Afghan officials admit privately that Pushtunistan would be forgotten if access to Pakistan's ports and trade routes could be guaranteed and some *modus vivendi* established for the nomads. In a logical world there would seem to be no reason why Afghanistan should not be able to arrange to buy a strip of territory along the Iranian and Pakistani borders and enough land at the end for a port while renouncing its claims to Pushtunistan.

Mutual self-interest demands a solution. Despite the good intentions of the Afghan leaders and their determination to continue their economic progress without losing their sovereignty or their precarious neutrality, a continuation of the border breaches with Pakistan, coupled with Soviet aid in its present volume, can lead only to the extension of Russian influence and the disappearance of Afghanistan as a traditional buffer state in Central Asia.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AT HOME & ABROAD

Mr. McNamara Remodels The Pentagon

JACK RAYMOND

WASHINGTON

WHEN Robert Strange McNamara, the relatively little-known young president of the Ford Motor Company, came from Detroit last January to take over the Pentagon, Washington was discussing the Symington Report. It had been prepared by one of President-elect Kennedy's task forces on government policy, headed by the former Secretary of the Air Force who as Senator from Missouri established himself as the chief goad of the Eisenhower administration on defense matters. The report recommended a drastic reorganization of the armed forces. It proposed an extreme form of military unification and underscored the necessity of increased civilian control. An excerpt from it is worth recalling:

"Throughout all proposals, past and present, to make more effective the Defense Department organization has run one central theme—the clarification and strengthening of the authority of the Secretary of Defense over the entire U.S. military establishment. There are some who believed, even prior to the 1958 amendments to the National Security Act, that existing legislation provided ample basis for the Secretary's authority. Others took a contrary view. It is the conclusion of this committee that the doctrine of civilian control will be compromised as long as doubts exist on this point."

Now, a year later, the question of whether statutory changes should be made in the Defense organization is still being debated. But this much is evident: the man from Detroit who runs the Pentagon has never displayed a doubt or permitted a compromise in exercising to the hilt "direction, authority and control over the Department of Defense." Secretary McNamara has used his prerogatives as none of his predecessors has dared or wanted to do. This has won him the increased confidence of the President and the reputation of being a "strong man" in the administration. It has bolstered his position among other defense ministers in the Atlantic Alliance. And it has won him powerful friends in Congress, notably the two veteran chairmen of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees, one of whom labeled him a "genius." These evidences of support outside the Pentagon have fed back and reinforced his rule inside the headquarters.

The Secretary recently summed it up this way: "During the past year, we have taken a number of steps to make the military establishment a more effective servant of American foreign policy."

Military leaders would deny that they have ever regarded the armed forces as anything but a servant of foreign policy. And it is just such implied aspersions that have irritated the military in this administration. But though the Secretary may never win a popularity contest at the Pentagon, the mood of the high brass nevertheless has changed from one of sullen irritation to rather reluctant admiration.

Dead Cats and Jarred Bones

Fourteen years ago, the first Secretary of Defense, James V. Forrestal, wrote: "This office will probably be the biggest cemetery for dead cats in history." The years since have reinforced the assumption that "nothing can be done" about the Pentagon, as though confusion, waste, and stubborn resistance to change were part of the price of maintaining the world's most powerful military-industrial complex. The hallmark of the Pentagon became indecisiveness and inaction that would have been disastrous on the battlefield. Only a few years ago a Secretary of Defense, paralyzed by Army and Air Force missiles rivalry, appealed to Congress to "put our feet to the fire" in order to force decision in a debate that had cost hundreds of millions of dollars over many years.

There is still some confusion and waste at the Pentagon, but the atmosphere has changed from self-hypnotized deliberation over every detail to the Secretary's policy that "more mistakes are likely through waiting than through making up one's mind." The Secretary and his aides—"McNamara and his band"—make decisions swiftly: a decision on an Air Force weapons system came twenty minutes after a briefing started; a mission was assigned to the Marine Corps ten minutes after an Army spokesman spent an hour asking for it.

Early in the administration, the assignment of a space mission to the Air Force elicited a complaint in the Joint Chiefs that it had been granted *too* hastily. The complaint, as might have been expected, leaked to the press and caused a Congressional hearing. It also provided Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell L. Gilpatric with an opportunity to explain the new tempo as follows:

"A major criticism of the Department of Defense . . . has been the slowness of the decision-making process . . . We do not feel that important decisions affecting the national security of the United States can be deferred pending attempts to work out a modus vivendi which will be satisfactory and pleasing to everyone. Too often such efforts do not resolve our problems but rather intensify them. . . ."

The effect of this approach has been described as "bone-jarring." The phrase recalls the profession of Dr. William Eustis, Secretary of War in 1812, who was found in his office one day busily engaged in sawing off the leg of a patient.

When George Washington organized the War Department, its personnel consisted of Henry Knox and one clerk. They presided over a Regular Army of 5,000 men whose chief task was to keep peace with the Indians. Today the Secretary of Defense presides over some 2,500,000

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people in uniform, and an additional 1,000,000 civilians—close to a total of 8,000,000 people if the Reserves are counted. With a $50-billion-a-year budgetary allowance, he administers more than $154 billion worth of planes, ships, tanks, and military bases all over the world. The Pentagon holds nearly 25,000 persons, including the Secretary of Defense and 345 generals and admirals.

Four Questions

What is often overlooked in the role of the Secretary of Defense is that he is by statute the principal assistant to the President in defense matters. The uniformed chiefs also advise the President on defense, but the civilian Secretary is the foremost adviser. And although he represents the military in government and may be influenced by them, the Secretary is a political appointee who reflects the will of the administration in defense policies.

Thus, the McNamara policies that have stirred the Capital are the President's policies, and when the Secretary faces Congress this month he will be speaking for the President on some of the critical responsibilities of the administration. He will lead off in the traditional "military posture" briefings by Pentagon officials. He will report on American men in uniform at the Berlin wall, in Southeast Asia, in the United Nations' Congo airlift. To him will fall the defense of the record appropriations request and the explanation of broad strategic questions such as the "credibility" of United States military power in the light of the shift from almost total reliance upon nuclear weapons.

Congress certainly will ask him what happened to the "missile gap" that so worried the country and is now said to have been a myth. Mr. McNamara will almost certainly be asked whether the Russians, if they are not ahead in missiles, may be ahead in nuclear warheads after their recent test series, and to clarify the Macmillan-Kennedy agreement on resumption of nuclear tests in the atmosphere. He will have to answer to Congress on such old problems as bomber production and new problems as Nike-Zeus anti-missile production.

But four fundamental issues that have highlighted his first year of defense stewardship undoubtedly will engage Mr. McNamara most of the time he appears before the Congressional committees. These are (1) the drastic managerial changes and strong trend toward service unification that have marked the past year at the Pentagon; (2) the problem of civilian control, as exemplified in the Walker case and charges of "muzzling" the military; (3) the question of civil defense; and (4) the Reserve call-up.

The first of these issues developed from a series of managerial shifts designed to streamline the massive defense organization. One of the Secretary's first acts was to establish a Management Planning Office. Then, in rapid order, two Assistant Secretary posts and 404 departmental committees were eliminated. (Two other Assistant Secretaryships have since been established, showing that not even Mr. McNamara can entirely escape Parkinson's Law.) Seventy-three military bases in this country and abroad were ordered closed as unnecessary. (He has held remarkably firm on these.) The research and logistics units of the Air Force were realigned into simpler command channels and the Army was ordered to follow suit.

The strategic intelligence units of the services were combined, largely in an effort to put an end to rival and conflicting estimates of the "missile gap." A single supply agency was established to handle common items for all the services. The Tactical Air Command and the Army's Strategic Army Corps were merged. Jockeying for space missions was ended with a clear-cut assignment to the Air Force.

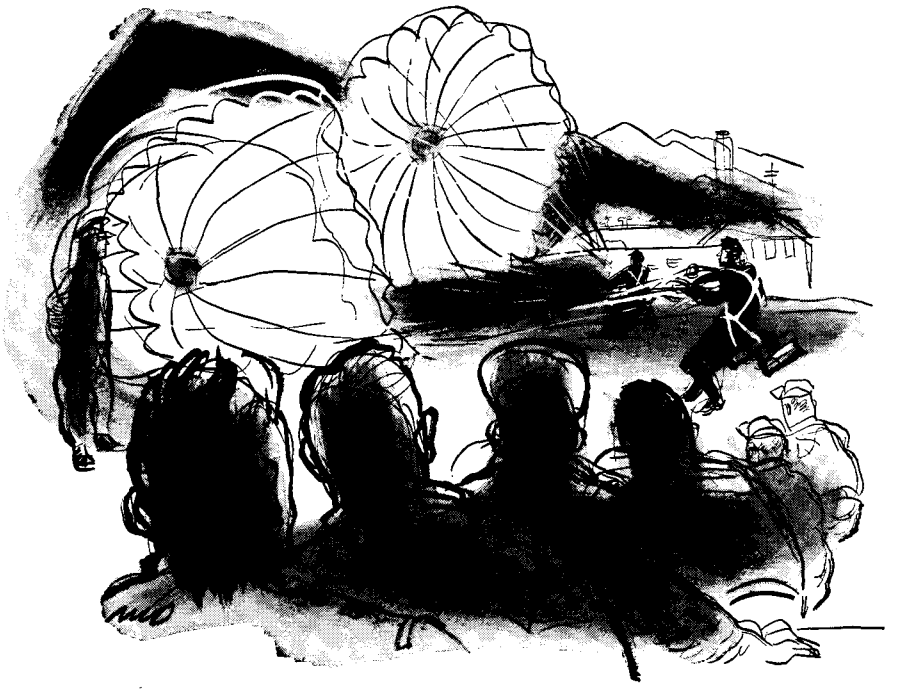
Perhaps the most fundamental innovation was the budgeting technique of five-year program packaging. The services were called upon to estimate not only the initial year's costs of a weapons system but their maintenance costs over five years. In addition, the weapons were judged functionally. Polaris submarines did not compete for funds with aircraft carriers, although both are Navy-operated. Strategic weapons are rated with other strategic weapons and tactical weapons with other tactical weapons, regardless of service.

These moves aroused criticism and fear. The loss of high posts and "empires" was one reason for resistance to streamlining and consolidation. More seriously, however, many military men, particularly in the Navy, fear that centralized authority is dangerous to the country. Seeing a drive toward a single service, they warn of the dangers of any monolith that is dominated by a single strategy. The much-criticized "service rivalries," they contend, permitted men like Generals Billy Mitchell and Maxwell Taylor to press their respective causes for air power and preparedness for limited war, while unification would stifle dissent and inhibit constructive debate.

Secretary McNamara's answer is that he is only trying to simplify defense operations. He says that he is still undecided about the desirability of service reorganization and that he has introduced changes purely in the interests of scientific management.

The second major issue, the role and self-expression of military men, also stems from the McNamara man-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



agerial revolution. From the beginning, the Secretary underscored the primacy of civilian over military judgment as well as control. He has even assigned strategic military studies to his civilian aides rather than only to the Joint Chiefs. These measures, combined with the organizational shift, led to charges that military leaders were being bypassed. And indeed they were, notably in the Air Force space assignment.

Making the Headlines

The Cuban affair gave further evidence of a lack of civilian confidence in the military. Reports emanating from the White House attributed the failure of the invasion to the military Chiefs. They went unchallenged either by the White House or the Defense leadership. Secretary McNamara spoke out only at a news conference to say that anything wrong in the Pentagon's role in the Cuban fiasco was his fault because he was the Secretary. Thus, he did nothing to alter the inference that the military leaders were in the doghouse.

The Secretary also undertook to keep generals and admirals from bursting into headlines that could affect foreign-policy negotiations. Speeches were censored (as they always have been) and unusual efforts were made to publicize the censorship so that some military firebrands would "get the message."

In addition, the Secretary modified the nation-wide anti-Communist indoctrination program that the Eisenhower administration had assigned to the military services. This questionable plan had been inspired by the feeling of President Eisenhower and his aides that Americans, particularly the youth, did not seem to appreciate their way of life and the menace of Communism to the degree that Communist youth was presumed to be dedicated to the Kremlin's policies. Many of the indoctrination seminars, in which civilian groups participated as sponsors, were found to be dominated by right-wingers whose views of Communism reflected strong political party bias.

A distinction must be made, however, between the case of Major General Edwin A. Walker, who quit the Army, and the broad charge of military "muzzling." General Walker, a member of the John Birch Society, attempted to sway the votes of his troops in the 1960 elections. He was found by an Army inspector general to be guilty of violating the Hatch Act, which forbids political activity in government. The Walker case was thus a clear-cut Army disciplinary matter and he was officially admonished, although more severe punishment could have been meted.

The question of military "muzzling" involves a problem that has repeated itself in American democracy from its founding. It concerns the tendency of some military leaders to speak their minds in a country where everyone else enjoys this right. Woodrow Wilson's silencing of retired Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan in 1914 was a *cause célèbre*. Abraham Lincoln, beset by a similar problem, commented characteristically with the story of a rider whose horse bucked and kicked a hoof into the stirrup. Said the rider: "If you're getting on, I'll get off." President Truman delighted in telling that story during his dispute with General MacArthur.

Secretary McNamara undoubtedly will be called before Congress to account for his controls over military self-expression, especially since both Senators Barry Goldwater and Strom Thurmond have decided to make political hay out of the issue. Military men in the United States, Senator Goldwater insists, are "also members of the body politic" with rights to free speech.

The Defense Secretary had this to say on the subject in his last appearance before the Senate: "Without policy clearance, military speakers run the risk of violating inadvertently the constitutional concept of civilian control. They also run the risk of giving our national policy an appearance of confusion—a grave danger in the field of foreign affairs."

Nation-wide Shelters

The third issue, the question of civil defense, is perhaps most heartrending for the Pentagon. In addition to the dilemma of private versus public shelter programs, there is the irony of leaders of the world's most powerful military forces planning protection against the nuclear holocaust that these forces are designed to deter. The Pentagon is not directly involved in the moral issues that have been raised in the country over shelter policies. These, of necessity, are centered in the White House. But the Pentagon *is* involved in the planning, organization, and implementation of what promises to be a major shelter-building program, with all its economic and political ramifications. And it became involved precisely because of Mr. Mc-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Namara's conviction that the program must be properly organized.

The Secretary did not want responsibility for the civil-defense programs, although some civil-defense measures obviously were related to military defense. When the administration decided to give him some but not all of the civil-defense responsibilities—that is, "operations" without the equivalent "authority"—Mr. McNamara balked. A struggle ensued within the government, and the Defense Secretary won. Civil defense is now almost entirely under the management of the Pentagon, with a small policy unit in the White House. This has roused the inevitable fears of military control over civilian volunteers, military rather than "humane" considerations in nation-wide shelter planning, and a possible conflict between military and civil laws in a time of crisis.

The Secretary, however, has stressed civilian orientation of the program. He has named a civilian to head it. He has placed great responsibilities in the hands of state governors. And he has lent all his management acumen to the program in an effort to ward off what could become a colossal boondoggle. That no one expects such a boondoggle from him is a tribute to his efforts to get "a dollar value for a dollar spent" in other expensive Pentagon programs.

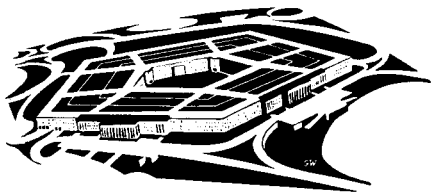
The Call-up

The fourth of the major issues, that of the Reserves, already has captured the political imagination of many leading members of Congress. Clearly there is trouble ahead for Secretary McNamara, who, unlike the President, will be called upon to discuss the complaints of mobilized reservists in detail as well as in principle. But the principle is important too.

The Militia Act of 1792 recognized the idea of organizing "reserve" forces that could spring into action as a second line of defense behind the relatively small Regular Army. In recent times, however, many administration and military leaders have sought to reduce the size of this Reserve. President Eisenhower spoke out vehemently against spending money on the Reserve forces. Secretary McNamara at first planned to cut them down. But the Reserves, including the National Guard, are politically entrenched. The issue probably would not have developed if the administration had not taken the unusual step of mobilizing Reserves for a "cold" rather than a "hot" war.

The shortages, mistakes, injustices, and plain old-fashioned stupidities in the mobilization of the Army Reserves (including the National Guard) that led to what Major General James A. Van Fleet described cogently as "pardon me—bitching" probably could not have been avoided in the rush effort to put more men in uniform as a sign of American determination in the Berlin crisis. The question that Congress undoubtedly will ask is whether there was no other way to reinforce United States "credibility" and why the administration, the Defense officials in particular, were not more realistic about what they could do in a short time. The facts of the matter disclose that Secretary McNamara characteristically insisted upon a speedy call to the Reserves. He was convinced that an expensive increase in the size of the Regular Army could be avoided by bringing the Reserves to a better state of readiness for emergency duty.

Uncharacteristically, the Secretary did not provide for a speedy follow-through. The President delivered his crisis speech July 25. But not until August 25, despite pleas from military commanders, did the orders go out for the first limited mobilization; not until mid-September was a decision made to call out two of four alerted National Guard divisions; and not until October 1 did the bulk of Reserves report for active duty.



Congress, of course, probably will be concerned with the administrative problems and the squawks of the Reservists, some of which were justified. It would be a missed opportunity, however, if the Pentagon and the key Congressional committees did not take stock of the role of the Reserve forces and of the ramifications of Universal Military Training under existing laws. It is not universal, in that many qualified young men escape any form of service; it is not military, in that many Reserve and Regular units cannot be relied upon under existing practices; and it is not training, since most of the members of what is called Ready Reserve are not on drill-pay status.

The only silver lining to the Reserve foul-up is that it occurred in peacetime. Most military preparations can be tested only in war.

Under Three Hats

As manager of a multi-billion-dollar organization that affects the destinies of the nation's youth, the prosperity of many of its communities, and the political fate of its leaders, including the President, the Secretary of Defense is called upon to behave like a clergyman, think like a corporation president, and be as shrewd as a politician.

Mr. McNamara, married and the father of three children, was an elder in the Presbyterian Church. He voted both Democratic and Republican before he came to Washington and has gained new friends in both parties here. He seems, however, to have been surprised by the high political content of his activities and dismayed by the undisciplined Washington press corps, which rates leaks and rumors as highly as it does his official announcements.

The Secretary has shown that he does not fit the familiar stereotype of a millionaire industrialist. Despite his complaints of waste and inefficiency in the military establishment, he has testified that private business suffers the same ills in perhaps more generous measure. In addition, he apparently is sincere in stating his conviction that national security "cannot afford any budget limitation."

When he first came to the Pentagon, his air of self-assurance and impatience for quick decisions did not win him universal sympathy in the "permanent party." With his slicked-down, thinning black hair and rimless gold spectacles, he gave the impression of a brash academician rather than a worldly indus-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trailist. His relative youth (forty-five last June) and his reputation as one of the team of Harvard "Whiz Kids" who directed Ford's postwar revival prompted ironic comments.

At the Pentagon, too, Mr. McNamara and his civilian associates were dubbed "Whiz Kids." When he circulated his famous more-than-a-hundred study projects throughout the armed forces, demanding quick answers to some fundamental old quandaries, the nickname was altered to "Quiz Kids," and some of the more resentful old-timers muttered, "Youth Wants to Know."

THE MCNAMARA BAND includes, however, some experienced men such as Deputy Secretary Gilpatric, who was Under Secretary of the Air Force in the Truman administration (and a member of the Symington task force); Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul H. Nitze, who was chief of State Department policy planning ten years ago; and Air Force Secretary Eugene Zuckert, who held his first Federal post in 1937.

On the other hand, the Pentagon's powerful research director, thirty-four-year-old Harold Brown, was not born when some of his military subordinates were earning their first medals. And despite some obviously political appointments, there is a flavor of youthful intellectuality in the civilian high command.

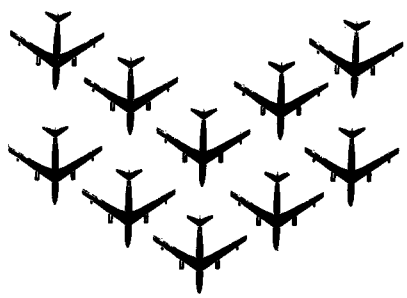
The Secretary, a Californian who shipped out on a merchant vessel as a youth, helped set up Air Force statistical accounting during the Second World War. At Ford, where he rose rapidly to become the first head of the company outside the founder's family, he was a rather aloof, bookish person. He preferred to live near the campus of the University of Michigan rather than in the fashionable Detroit suburbs. And even now, although his relations with General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, are good, he is criticized for his failure to mix with military people.

The Secretary's working day begins at 6:45 A.M. in the black limousine that takes him from his rented home and in which he reads newspapers or documents from an ever-present briefcase. He often has breakfast with visitors at his Pentagon office overlooking the Potomac. Just cataloguing the impressions of his visitors gives some picture of the man: he is impatient of deliberate staff procedures; he thinks any action is usually better than no action; he says committees are useful only for exchanging ideas; he is intolerant of doctrinal labels such as "counter-force" and "finite deterrence" that the military uses to identify its strategies.

In ABC fashion, he wants to know, "(A) How many missiles?, (B) How many troops?, (C) What are the options?" He is always talking about "options." When his aides have recommended a specific course of action, he inevitably demands to know what are the alternatives. He has a way of making sweeping generalizations that often shocks his associates. When they argue that he is wrong or that his demands cannot be met, he challenges, "Why?," and waits to be convinced. "That puts the burden on us," said one of the service Secretaries, "and you'd be surprised how often we find we can do more than we at first believed."

The Test of Time

The Secretary, like the President, is a great telephone user, and he does not hesitate to call directly, without warning, to any office he thinks may supply him with an answer. He does not visit other offices as much as he did at first, but he



demands detailed reports on practically every activity in the Defense establishment. Thus his working day invariably ends after 6:30 P.M., with stacks of papers and indexed notebooks piled on his desk. With his office staff gone and the huge Pentagon silent and almost empty, Mr. McNamara sits alone at his desk writing memorandums in longhand—his left hand—that will keep three secretaries busy the next day.

It is hard to estimate the effectiveness of the new régime. Secretaries of Defense before Mr. McNamara have come along bursting with new ideas, although none of them quite matched the commotion that this Secretary has generated. It is hard to measure the success of his cost-cutting efforts when the Defense budget has risen by more than $6 billion. In the final analysis, the merits of the organizational shifts can be proved only in war. But the Secretary appears to have proved the validity of one of the conclusions of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, whose subcommittee conducted a thorough study of national policy machinery: "The heart problem of national security is not reorganization—it is getting our best people into key foreign policy and defense posts." If Mr. McNamara is not one of the administration's "best people," there are many in this capital who are being fooled.

Meanwhile, there's still more to come. The Secretary continues to complain of "management looseness." He would like to revise contracting procedures to eliminate undue profits. He thinks billions can be saved from wasteful projects and diverted into real military power. He feels that the structure of the military forces, even within their existing framework, can be improved.

Many are asking whether the pace can be maintained and the reforms made to stick. "We used to be handed decisions; lately we've been getting draft decisions," an officer commented. This doubt was shared at one time by the editor of *Armed Forces Management* magazine when he wrote: "Only the future will reveal whether McNamara's changes are indelible on the surface of U.S. military history or will wash away with the first tide of reaction." More recently, however, the same editor wrote: "Four or eight years hence when the present Secretary of Defense steps down from that office, we predict that there will be as little similarity between the Pentagon he leaves and the Pentagon he came to as there was between the United States formed by the Constitution and the United States under the Articles of Confederation."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Is Our Patent Law Out of Date?

DOUGLASS CATER

When the Founding Fathers authorized Congress "to promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries," they hardly envisaged a future when the business of inventing, no longer the attic labors of a lonely eccentric, would grow into a well-financed assembly line of brainpower. Nor did they foresee a time when government would become the largest investor in scientific progress. During 1961, the Federal government spent more than $9 billion for research and development, over two-thirds the total spent in the nation. By no means confined to civil-service scientists, approximately sixty cents of every government research and development dollar goes directly to private profit-making enterprise.

Who shall benefit from the patentable discoveries that the government pays for? Various departments of the government have answered this question in different ways. The Atomic Energy Commission, a big investor in invention, takes title to patents arising from work performed by its various contractors, and offers the benefits equally throughout the industry. But the Defense Department, the big daddy of research and development, usually requires only a royalty-free license to fill its own needs. Its private contractors may keep the patents for commercial exploitation. These by-products of defense research are not to be sneezed at. Besides the well-known advances in aircraft and communications equipment, Defense Department sponsorship has led to countless other new products—plastics and adhesives, high-temperature alloys, miniature electronic components, automation equipment, computers, insecticides, drugs and blood plasma substitutes—all having value to the civilian consumer. Dehydrated soups, frozen vegetables, and "TV dinners" have resulted from research paid for by defense dollars.

The defense contractor often gets a handsome windfall. One example, according to the Comptroller General's report in 1960 on the Air Force ballistic-missile program, was provided by Thompson Ramo-Wooldridge, the engineering concern hired to develop Atlas and other missiles. Of the ninety-five patent applications resulting from its defense research, eleven were classified as "sufficiently basic and important to provide a basis for a new industry or an entirely new product line . . ." The Boeing Airplane Company, which received seventy-six prime Defense Department research and development contracts over the past decade, set up a special division for the purpose of exploiting its discoveries. Military research at Boeing has led to a cookie flour, industrial furnaces, decalcomanias, and more than 250 other products or processes.

Who Owns Knowledge?

Not unnaturally, there is an overwhelming preference within industry for the Defense Department's method of handling patents. A formidable array of patent lawyers and other spokesmen have been attempting to have it adopted throughout the government. They are concentrating particularly on the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which is fast becoming the second largest investor in research and development. A bill to have NASA follow Defense rather than AEC patent procedures passed the House in 1960 but died in the Senate.

It has stirred up lively opposition. Senator Russell Long (D., Louisiana) maintains that government has no right to relinquish patents the public has paid for. With most of the Pentagon's research and development funds going to big business, he contends, its patent policy serves to promote monopoly and cartels in conflict with the Justice Department's anti-trust policy. Ten companies, Long points out, have been getting seventy per cent of government research money. All but two or three per cent goes to large corporations. A member of the Senate Small Business Committee, Long has introduced his own bill to set up a Federal Inventions Administration that would take over government-owned patents and promote them for the public's benefit.

He has found an ally in Vice Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, the testy and tenacious pioneer of the nuclear submarine. As Assistant Chief of Bureau for Nuclear Propulsion, Rickover serves the Defense Department; but as Manager for Naval Reactors, he also works for the Atomic Energy Commission. The two jobs gave him added authority when he testified before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee last summer, roundly lambasting the Pentagon's patent policy. Impatient with the argument that private contractors require this extra incentive to make their services available to government, Rickover pointed out that defense contractors were guilty of a double standard in their patent practices. They do not hesitate to lay claim to any discoveries made by their employees and subcontractors even while protesting bitterly against government's making the same claim. With more than seventy per cent of each year's patent applications now being filed by corporations, he argued, the old notion of rewarding the individual inventor has long since gone by the board.

Reinventing the Wheel

But Rickover's chief concern is not with the inequities. He is convinced that Defense Department policy blocks the flow of information vital to national defense and is retarding the nation's growth. By

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

buttressing the protective walls around production techniques, he claims, the government is financing delay and duplication. It must pay many times over while each contractor is obliged to "reinvent the wheel."

The Pentagon's patent policy leads to constant conflict. The Defense Department paid the Hycon Company to develop an aerial camera, then had to go to considerable cost and effort to get the information released to another company wishing to compete for a defense contract. Present military licenses often do not permit other departments of the government to share their royalty-free benefits. If the Defense Department were handling research on saline water conversion, Rickover points out, President Kennedy would not be able to make it freely available to the underdeveloped nations.

The admiral's opponents, who include most of the Defense Department's procurement officers, take violent exception to his sweeping indictment. They argue that without patent protection, private companies would have little incentive to make their discoveries public. Federal ownership of all government-financed patents would lead, they claim, to even greater suppression of information.

The controversy, as Rickover admits, leads inevitably to the need for re-examining the patent system itself. Does it still serve "to promote the progress of science"? Both Rickover and Long believe that a better way to promote genuine progress would be for government to offer generous monetary rewards for those who turn over important discoveries to the nation's use. They suggest that the United States might study West Germany's practice of imposing a progressively increasing tax on privately patented inventions in order to force their exploitation. It is too easy in the United States for a company to hoard its discoveries.

During the reign of James I, the English Parliament put an end to the whole system of mercantile monopolies when it enacted the Statute of Monopolies of 1624. One exception was made—for a specified period of time, the inventor was permitted to wall off his particular area of knowledge and keep the public out. He had the right to levy tribute for his discovery. The first patent law enacted by the United States Congress in 1790 incorporated the same basic formula.

Today, it is estimated, ninety per cent of all the scientists who ever lived are alive and contributing their skills to a frantic race of discovery. Man's knowledge, once the slow accretion of centuries, is said to be redoubling every ten years. Yet, in King James's time, Parliament limited the patent to fourteen years' duration. Today, the giant U.S. corporation, holding countless patents on discoveries made by others and paid for by the government, is allowed monopoly privileges for seventeen years. It is surely time, as Rickover suggests, for Congress to consider the anomaly.

The Case Of the Tired Tory

PEREGRINE WORSTHORNE

London

Since 1959, when the Labour Party virtually ceased to be an effective opposition after its third successive electoral defeat, Harold Macmillan's only serious potential difficulties have come from within the Conservative Party itself. For to be British prime minister at a time of swift and ceaseless change both at home and abroad, and at the same time to be leader of a political party dedicated to the conservation of the status quo, constitutes an almost impossibly contradictory double role.

Until very recently Mr. Macmillan has succeeded superlatively well. Private prosperity has been such that nobody has really felt inclined to bother about where the country is going. More and more television sets and refrigerators in the home have more than made up for fewer and fewer colonial territories in the empire.

All this, combined with repeated electoral victory, has made it possible for the Prime Minister to dazzle the Tories with one brilliant piece of political conjuring after another. In the foreign field, diplomatic "summitry" has long been presented as a substitute for international leadership; the fiction of an expanding Commonwealth as a substitute for the fact of empire; and the much-vaunted "special relationship" with the United States as a substitute for closer links with western Europe. And on the home front, what has really amounted to the continuation of basic Labour Party policies has been presented as Toryism brought up to date.

A New Era

It can very well be argued that all this political sleight of hand was the only way to make certain modern facts of political life palatable to the Conservative Party. It cushioned the shock of facing reality. Last fall the cushion was rudely and brusquely pulled away.

The Prime Minister was compelled to tell the country that Britain was on the edge of economic bankruptcy and to ask the Conservative Party, supposedly dedicated to free enterprise, to back his government in a return to modified economic planning. And roughly at the same time he was compelled to announce that the Conservative government, supposedly the great Commonwealth champion and the defender of British national sovereignty, was about to apply for membership in the European Economic Community, or Common Market. It is difficult to exaggerate the extent of the shock these two announcements have had on the Conservatives. They dispelled a decade's comfortable illusions and forced the party rank and file to recognize just

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

how far the government has departed from Conservative first principles.

In simple terms, the ordinary Tory believes that his party stands for private enterprise, individual responsibility, national sovereignty, the empire or Commonwealth, and British argiculture. Yet after ten years of Tory rule all these ideals and interests seem in greater danger than they did after six years of socialism. In the light of the government's present economic pronouncements, even the most optimistic Conservative is beginning to realize that private enterprise and individual responsibility, as he understands them, are gone forever. Instead of moving toward the simple capitalist ideal, the Conservative government has been moving steadily away from it.

THE DECISION to apply for membership in the Common Market has proved even more unsettling. In spite of governmental assurances about sovereignty, the Commonwealth, and British agriculture, few Conservatives really believe that joining Europe can fail to affect these three cardinal Conservative preoccupations. Just how they will be affected is still obscure, but the fact that the Labour Party is now coming forward as their champion and defender is highly disturbing to the Tory rank and file.

Of course, the process culminating in Britain's application to join the Six has been going on throughout the decade of Tory rule, as it has become increasingly clear that this country could not afford, economically, militarily, and politically, to stay ouside the dynamic new association forming across the Channel. But until last fall the party faithful were nevertheless encouraged to put their faith in a new era of independent British greatness as the center of a multiracial Commonwealth.

The withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth last spring, against Britain's strenuous wishes, was the first major dent in this illusion, since it suggested that the multiracial Commonwealth was really dominated by Africans and Asians, with Britain more the odd man out than the founding member. Ghana's flirtation with the Soviet Union and its collapse into dictatorship raised further doubts, as did the refusal of the colored Commonwealth to come out clearly and unequivocally in condemnation of Russia's resumption of nuclear tests.

But until the Common Market decision it was at least possible for Conservatives to place their trust in the old Dominions, the white Commonwealth. Even this source of comfort has now been endangered, since Australia, New Zealand, and Canada have not concealed their profound concern over Britain's new trade orientation.

In short, whether they look abroad or at home, the Tories

can find little that is familiar or reassuring. The truth is that Mr. Macmillan is seeking to bring about radical transformations that go far beyond the emotional and intellectual grasp of most of his supporters in the House of Commons or in the country.

No New Principles

Normally, of course, a Conservative leader would never find himself in this position, since the kind of challenges now facing this country would tend to have brought a radical party to power. But with the disintegration of the Labour Party, and the failure so far of the Liberal Party to grow again into a serious political force, Britain has no radical party with any chance of gaining office in the foreseeable future. To this extent, Britain today is to all intents and purposes a one-party state.

So far, as I say, the Conservative Party has risen to this challenge pretty well. But the leadership and the rank and file have moved so far apart that the front benchers and the backbenchers today might almost be members of different parties. So long as this change was concealed by a curtain of affluence or double talk, no harm was done. But now there are unmistakable signs of unrest and division which have already gravely affected the government's confidence and efficiency.

With the sudden reversal of policy on supplying bombs to the United Nations force in Katanga, the government showed itself to be badly out of touch with party sentiment. Or perhaps it would be truer to say that party sentiment showed itself so complex and confused as to provide the government with no clear context in which to operate.

This, it seems to me, goes to the heart of the problem. Britain's Tory party has lost its old faith and compromised its traditional loyalties without developing any new ideals and principles to take their place. The government is therefore at the mercy of whim. It never knows from day to day how its supporters will react, what they will support and what they will oppose. The reputations of individual cabinet ministers go up and down without any regard to consistent criteria of judgment, since what is judged to be sound Tory policy one day becomes heresy the next.

THE PROSPECT for firm and effective government could hardly be less rosy. Disagreeable as it is to have to admit it, the Conservative Party looks as if it is about to pass through almost as agonizing a period of reappraisal as the Labour Party is still suffering from. It will be less dramatic, of course, since Mr. Macmillan is unlikely to demand from his supporters an amended declaration of faith signed on the dotted line. But the heart-searching will be no less painful.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How Did Southern California Get That Way?

BRUCE BLIVEN

Los Angeles Southern California is in the news again, and the intelligent and sensible people in that area—of whom, contrary to what you may think, there are a large number—are writhing. But then writhing is an almost daily exercise with them, like deep knee bends.

This area has lately been the scene of some very odd goings-on by reactionaries—what Cleveland Amory calls the Wrong Right. Private bands of guerrillas have acquired arms and are secretly drilling, for what purpose is not clear. Other groups have announced hospitably that in case of atomic war they will shoot citizens of neighboring communities who come their way. It was in Los Angeles that a retired rear admiral, Chester Ward, the other day linked Vice-President Johnson and former President Truman to "nuclear pacifists," in control of the Federal government, whose policy is intended "to avoid war but lose to the Communists piecemeal." Former Representative Donald Jackson said that President Kennedy, when he attacked the extremists in a speech, "did violence to his oath of office." A retired colonel of Marines has recently spoken out against impeaching Chief Justice Warren: "After reading some sixteen or seventeen of the decisions handed down by the highest court of the land, I felt that impeachment is not a proper penalty. Rather it appears to me the more deserved punishment would be hanging."

Los Angeles sternly forbids any public celebration of United Nations Day, and tries to keep its schoolchildren from the dreadful knowledge that UNESCO exists. People find it expedient to attach signs to their automobile bumpers averring that the driver is not a Communist, no indeed. In a region where bookstores are not very numerous, an observer recently counted thirteen that specialize in anti-Communist literature. For those ardent patriots who have trouble reading, records and tapes are available of loyalty expressed at the top of the lungs.

Diligent watch is kept on the public schools in this area to make sure that the rising generation gets no wrong ideas. Children are encouraged to tell on a teacher if they feel he has been only ninety-nine per cent American.

Members of the Southern California right-wing groups tend to think alike on a multitude of subjects. They are usually against income taxes, foreign aid, welfare activities, unions, academic freedom, NATO, SEATO, and the fluoridation of drinking water. The use of polio vaccine is a subtle Communist scheme, an opening wedge for socialized medicine. In a Los Angeles suburb, a proposed mental-health clinic was attacked because "mental-health clinics are tools of the Communists."

The John Birch Society and allied groups are far stronger in Southern California than in other parts of America. Fred Schwarz, head of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, has estimated that a third of his outfit's million-dollar income will be contributed by this region, which has about one-twentieth of the national population.

How did Southern California get that way? There is of course no simple answer to this question, since various forces have undoubtedly been at work through the decades. One can, however, speculate about some of the influences.

For many years, Los Angeles was notoriously an open-shop, low-wage town. Public opinion was dominated by conservative businessmen with hardly any effective voices in opposition. General Harrison Gray Otis, the redoubtable owner of the Los Angeles *Times* from 1886 until his death in 1917, was implacably anti-union, a fact that led to the dynamiting of the *Times* building in 1910. There was a persistent legend that he kept a small cannon mounted in his automobile, just in case. The attitude toward labor was also shaped by the fact that Southern California attracted swarms of invalids or near-invalids from the East. Those well enough, who were sometimes subsidized by their families, were willing to work for almost nothing, and employers were happy to pay them on that basis.

The over-all cultural pattern of Southern California was set by the vast flood of migrants from the Middle West in the early years of this century. These were nearly all elderly retired people from farms or small towns. Most of them had little money; some, knowing that they could not support themselves on the interest on their investments, divided their capital into their life expectancy, lived longer under the beneficent California sun than they had reckoned, and ran out of money. They were conservative, like small capitalists the world over, and quickly took alarm at anything that seemed to threaten them.

Down through the years, the Cali-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fornia conservatives have experienced a series of alarms special to that state. While some of the poorest embraced the Townsend Plan and other fantastic schemes for unearned old-age pensions, many more were frightened by them. Some elderly people are still shaking from Upton Sinclair's campaign for Governor in 1934, with its radical proposals for state aid to the unemployed. Public-opinion polls showed he had formidable strength until late in the campaign; then movie newsreels suddenly appeared in all the theaters showing repulsive tramps—who strikingly resembled well made-up actors from Central Casting—crawling out of boxcars in the Los Angeles yards and announcing happily and with admirable diction to the sound cameras, which just happened to be there, that they had come to share the wealth with Uppie. He was defeated.

In the 1930's, the era of depression and dust bowl, came a new wave of migrants, the Okies and Arkies. Their deep poverty did not make them radical; on the contrary, they were fundamentalist in religion and conservative in politics, against Negroes, Jews, and Catholics. Today's reaction in California is firmly linked with conservative Protestantism, though anti-Catholic prejudice has been soft-pedaled because of the Church's vigor against Communists.

THE DOMINATING FACT about Southern California today is the overwhelming increase in population, now about one thousand a day. Every community is swamped with newcomers, who contribute to the constant boom-town atmosphere and to a general prosperity that produces a per capita income twenty-five per cent above that of the United States as a whole. These are a restless people: a fourth of them change their addresses annually as compared to one-fifth nationally; one marriage in two ends in divorce, also substantially above the national average. It has been suggested that an unstable society always tends to demand conformity. When your neighbors are all strangers, it is easy to assume that there may be something very queer about them.

A society like this is highly susceptible to the arts of mass communication. Having few convictions, it will listen to zealots who have something to peddle. Especially appealing is a simple black-and-white philosophy that says we must be wholly saved at once or we shall be wholly ruined. The reactionary propagandists are highly skilled in the arts of indoctrination. Their scores of groups, including some innocent-sounding front organizations, have remarkably rapid communication with each other. They are masters of the anonymous telephone call, the threat of economic boycott, the mobilizing of letter-writing squads. (Robert Welch of the John Birch Society claims he can produce a quarter of a million letters on a given subject within ten days.) Their wrath comes down upon any radio or TV station, any newspaper or magazine, that dares discuss them in terms of less than abject servility—as the editors of *Life* ruefully discovered.

Westward Ho the crackpots

As someone has said, there is a natural westering tropism for crackpots; these human tumbleweeds keep drifting toward the setting sun until they are finally halted by the ocean. This is the land of practitioners of odd diets, clothing fads, and unusual religions. It is commonplace to see in the streets of the cities bearded, sandaled men in flowing robes who carry signs that warn, "Repent—the end of the world is at hand," and are nowadays probably astonished to find that people are beginning to believe them.

Yet the crackpots are only a small minority. The eccentrics have been swallowed up in the great increase in the general population. Industry is now important in this region, the banks are bulging with money, and in many ways the general tone is not unlike that of Cleveland or Pittsburgh. In fact, it may be in large measure because most people in California are typically American that so many fads originating there go on to sweep the nation.

Newspapers still do much to help create the cultural pattern, as they did in General Otis's day. The Los Angeles *Times* has receded from his extreme position, but the press of Southern California as a whole is not very alert to its obligations as the watchdog of our liberties. Few papers openly support the Far Right—especially since President Eisenhower was smeared—but few speak out vigorously against the lunatic fringe. Rare is the editor who will assign a good reporter to spend days or weeks digging out the facts about an individual accused of leftist leanings who claims that the accusations are unjust. The general attitude seems to be that where there is smoke there is sure to be something too hot to handle.

YET how effective a newspaper can be when it tries is shown by what happened in Santa Barbara. Almost a year ago the John Birch Society moved in on that wealthy geriatric community, spying on the schools, spreading propaganda against local university professors and administrators, and denouncing the U.N. Robert Welch's familiar battle cry, "This is a republic, not a democracy, let's keep it that way," was dinned into the ears of Santa Barbarans.

Thereupon, eighty-four-year-old Tom Storke, editor of the Santa Barbara *News-Press,* rose up in his wrath. He proved that the supposedly student-sponsored Freedom Club at the local branch of the University of California was directed by an outsider, using outside funds. He quoted at length from the Birchers' own documents to show what they believed. When the society offered a $2,300 prize for the best essay by a college student on why Chief Justice Warren should be impeached, the editor offered a $1,500 prize to anybody who could explain Robert Welch.

The community rose en masse in Storke's support. When the Birchers tried to kill off the annual Hallowe'en drive for UNICEF, the householders gave $6,000 instead of last year's $4,300. Storke got fifteen thousand requests for reprints of his editorial denouncing the Birchers, an award from Harvard's Nieman Foundation for Journalism, a testimonial dinner, and congratulatory messages from many distinguished people, including President Kennedy.

As of today, the Freedom Club at the university has collapsed and the Santa Barbara Birchers are keeping very quiet indeed.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Let's Save Latin From the Latin Department

RICHARD M. GUMMERE, JR.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY is the first Latinist in the White House since Mr. Hoover, who with his wife translated a sixteenth-century treatise on mining. Mr. Kennedy's recent letter in Latin to the pupils of the Dalton School in New York, a little rough but boldly idiomatic, deserved its place on the front page of the *Herald Tribune*. But before President Kennedy reached for his lexicon, even before a physician's Latin version of *Winnie-the-Pooh* became a best-seller here, a new frontier in classics study was already advancing. The Latin enrollment, as a proportion of the whole student population, had been rising steadily for several years. With nearly three-quarters of a million young people in our schools taking it, Latin today stands second only to Spanish. Several reports indicate that it is also resurgent on our college campuses.

Only one obstacle stands in the way of the revival: our Latin teachers. Most of them are apologetic or defiant. For a century they watched other subjects usurp Latin's place in the curriculum. In self-defense they invented some very dull reasons why it should be studied, all related to its alleged utility. It improves your English, they claim; it helps with modern languages; it gives mental discipline; it opens doors otherwise shut on ancient culture. Now I know of no evidence (nor of serious effort to find it) that Latin does any of these things well enough to justify the trouble of learning it. Anyway, they are relatively unimportant ends.

The classics are wanted now because they nourish our *souls*. Amid bursting atoms, whirling satellites, exploding populations, and emerging nations, the classical authors and their awkward but beautiful old languages offer spiritual strength. In the past, the classics have enjoyed their greatest triumphs at such times. The more difficult the present and mystifying the future, the more earnestly did our ancestors turn to them. Accordingly, the ancient authors were last revived vigorously in America during the late eighteenth century, when they provided much of the morale and all of the style for our revolution. George Washington kept a collection of china figurines of Greek and Roman wor-

thies on his mantelpiece. John Adams, a systematic Yankee, read Latin or Greek for half an hour *per diem*.

The trouble is that the classics never stay well revived. The new gumption spends itself in a disappointingly short time, whereupon the old studies are justified for ever more trivial reasons. This means that when the next revival occurs those least ready for it are the classicists on hand—our predicament in America today.

"Latin improves your English." I have most recently encountered a university president and a law-school dean dogmatically asserting this. They had heard plenty of Latin teachers assert it. Students also will tell you fairly confidently that their English work goes better for their Latin training. Mainly, these enthusiasts hold that to know Latin origins helps English vocabulary, and to know Latin grammar helps English grammar. Of course. But how much? An English teacher should be able to teach the roots and the grammar as well in a small fraction of the time spent on Latin, and at least as effectively. Why should we go around Robin Hood's barn?

"Latin helps in the learning of modern foreign languages." It may do so—when these are taught as Latin has traditionally been taught. But they have suffered enough of that! Modern languages were sternly challenged last century as they sought admission to the curriculum. "Namby-pamby," one typical classics professor called them. So their backers *mollified the opposition by imitating* the "tough" methods of Latin teaching and emphasized grammar rather than speaking, writing, or even free reading of their literature. This surrender nearly destroyed modern languages as academic subjects. They are only now coming to life by cutting themselves off totally from any habits or influence surviving from the days when they were in the shadow of Latin.

"Latin provides a unique mental discipline." Since the Reformation, more than for any other purpose it has indeed been used to curb young minds and spirits. Like the whip that accompanied it, Latin seemed made in Heaven for discipline. It has 250 different forms that students can be made to learn and, better still, to *name*. (This count was made recently by an American classicist.) And like the whip, Latin was easily abused. When I entered the profession twenty-five years ago, there were older men still in the field whose main concern in teaching Latin was to make their pupils miserable with it. Supposedly this was for the good of their character. Latin instruction still follows too closely the pattern designed for it as a disciplinary weapon.

"Latin opens doors to ancient culture, otherwise shut." Probably the

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

weakest of all the pretexts for its study. Very few students, or even teachers (in America, anyway), reach enough proficiency in the language to open cultural doors with it as effectively as with translations. All the classical authors can be read in fine English versions. Millions of Americans now own copies of these in paperbacks. Contrast this army with the corporal's guard who get their classics through awkward efforts to translate them in daily doses in the classroom.

This is not the first time men have promoted a good subject for poor reasons, or switched reasons with suspicious agility. Seventeenth-century Harvard offered Hebrew so that her alumni who became clergymen might outwit Satan, who had deluded translators of the Old Testament into making errors that could lead to false doctrine in the pulpit. But eighteenth-century Yale offered Hebrew because it is the language spoken by the angels in Heaven. For good measure, President Ezra Stiles also urged astronomy on his Yale boys in order to ensure their greater enjoyment of the flight heavenward. Again, just before the Civil War, science was advocated in our colleges because it confirmed the story of the Creation in the Bible. A generation later it was advocated because it did not.

The customary pretexts for the study of Latin today are just as doctrinaire, though not so colorful. They also assign the subject a menial role: to better the work in other academic fields and to serve the irrelevant purpose of character building. Instead, I propose a switch, not from one rationalization to another but to the purpose that justified Latin in all its days of greatness. I propose that we study Latin simply because it is worth studying.

LATINISTS should take the offensive and insist that the language stand on its own. It is a very old and fascinating study. Is not that enough? Observers with a keen eye on American life have been predicting less pursuit of the dollar, more interest among us in impractical culture. Latin suits this mood handsomely. It makes little apparent sense in the curriculum and has a peculiar fascination.

Little apparent sense? Maybe there's more to it than meets the eye. Robert Redfield, the anthropologist, tells of a society of Central American Indians who keep a few old Latin religious books in a chest. One person is trained to read these aloud at important ceremonies. Though nobody understands them, not even the reader, the books are held in great awe. With the exception of the reader and his assistants, no one may even approach the chest; whoever else opened it would be expected to go blind or mad. Our own Latin tradition resembles this ritual. It consists merely of some old books, not much different from others, not very well understood, but deeply revered and fanatically defended. Looked at anthropologically, then, Latin is—in a word—magic.

We need magic in education, especially today when we are removing it from most fields of study. Science, for example, is about to be brought up to date. As taught in most classrooms it is closer to reality than medieval alchemy, but too far behind the best modern knowledge to be classed as science. Innovators are preparing an assault on this "pickled abracadabra." Mathematics and foreign languages are suffering the same fate. Even the study of English is threatened with a drastic modernization. Though badly needed, such a burst of academic novelty could be disconcerting, if not demoralizing.

Latin may therefore be indispensable. Its study was introduced in the present form in the fifteenth century and has successfully resisted all attempts at major change. Other disciplines may come and go—or be refurbished; the Latin language and its literature stand unshakable as a mountain range.

But why not promote Latin also because it is an academic aristocrat? Other subjects familiar today were not studied much, if at all, in either our schools or colleges until well into the nineteenth century. History (other than of the ancients), modern languages, the sciences, and English were "frills," all right in their place but unfit for the curriculum. Even algebra and geometry, though ancient studies, were not respectable in many places. Their standing with a top American headmaster in the 1820's was described by a pupil:

"Mathematics the doctor despised, as forming no part of elegant learning, and as only necessary to some trades. Jonas Stremmell taught us of figures all that it was deemed good to know—the same limits being put to Geography and other things taught. Latin, Greek, and the rod were unlimited."

The various inelegant studies which the doctor despised, and others he never dreamed of, have now climbed into a position of good standing in academic circles. But they all still cut rather a vulgar figure beside the classics.

Some parents appreciate this snob appeal of Latin. At a recent educational conference I heard several guidance counselors talking over their problems and somebody soon brought up that grand old headache, Latin. The counselors seemed inclined to do away with it, but two circumstances daunted them: first, a strong and articulate body of parents in all their schools want it badly; second, where a good teacher offers Latin, the best students can usually be found taking it. The counselors scornfully implied that they just take it because it has class. The counselors are probably right, for these particular communities lie in a belt of suburbia and exurbia where status hunger is strong enough to awe Vance Packard. Anyway, their snobbery, not wholly unworthy and by no means unjustified, will enhance the standing of the field far better than the pedestrian pretexts of us latter-day Latinists. As an inside tip, let me add that many college admissions people, at least in liberal-arts colleges, are snobs too, capable of being impressed by the sight of two or three or, better still, four years of Latin on a candidate's transcript.

AS A MOTIVE for Latin study I have just appealed, perhaps ingloriously, to snobbery. In fairness I should add that this feeling strikes close to the heart of the matter, which is the awesome antiquity of Latin. Even young people can put a high value on the antique. Last spring the Harvard authorities decided to change the language of the diploma from Latin to English. Though President Pusey gave good practical reasons for the step, the students thronged to his house in

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what the Boston papers called a riot, demanding the old diploma back. To them, as to Redfield's Indians, the violation of the sacraments was abhorrent.

Of course, once upon a time Harvard men would riot regularly over something—or nothing, except perhaps that sweetness in the air of the first warm April evening. The alumni bulletin says they had not done so for several years. But the old pepper rose up again in the boys and they cut loose—over Latin. They rallied by the thousand, gathering first to listen, with more enthusiasm than comprehension, to a young classicist reading by torchlight from the library steps an address in the controversial tongue. He and a small retinue wore togas.

Shortly afterward the Columbia College valedictorian, perhaps moved by news from Cambridge that despite protests the Harvard diploma will remain in English, delivered his commencement address in Latin. This had not been done on Morningside Heights in more than fifty years. Sam Levenson promptly interviewed the young man on his television program and got him to speak a little Latin to the world.

Now, our Columbia orator was one of the small elite who read ancient tongues freely and travel luxuriously in those "realms of gold." The mob at Harvard was prompted by something simpler. If asked, some of them might say they took Latin simply because it was there. But was it not there because the world must have something tried and true amid the new and problematical; something a little holy amid the profane; something venerable; above all—and I have said it already—something magical?

Over a thousand years ago Latin first played its magic role on a grand scale. Charlemagne, rearranging his continent in a vast political revolution in the eighth century, mollified all hands by calling the rearrangement the Holy Roman Empire. He engaged Alcuin, the top classicist of the day—imported him from England, in fact—to teach Latin to any of his primitive Franks, noble or plebeian, who could be induced to sit still long enough. The Emperor himself, described as a seven-footer who loved riding, hunting, swimming, fighting, and, above all, governing, nevertheless took time enough amidst his fifty-three military campaigns to learn to read Latin. In an even vaster revolution we feel for the same old rock underfoot.

Why be practical about such a study? Why not appeal to its traditional and romantic qualities? The great classicist Helen Waddell describes these in an old phrase: *praeclusi via floris*—"the way of the secret flower." The early monks, the medieval scholastics, the Renaissance humanists, and the beleaguered classicists of modern times have kept the magic way open. The path can still be followed, and young people may choose it with a sense of taking part in a very old enchantment.

A Play From the Soviet Underground

MAURICE FRIEDBERG

For almost a century and a half, a certain number of Russian writers have been waging a battle of wits with the Russian state. The state has been armed with censorship, courts, jails, and, in the Soviet period, also by material incentives or sanctions as well as by a monopoly in book publishing. The traditional weapons of the writers have been the so-called "Aesopian language" of allegory, the love and respect of the Russian people they command, and, finally, the implicit threat of silence. The battle has never been fully won by either side.

There is in Russia today a kind of "literary underground," which either preaches ideological heresy or else vehemently affirms the irrelevance of politics both in life and in art. In 1960, a mimeographed magazine called *Syntax* was discovered by the authorities. Its youthful editors printed "modernistic" poetry permeated with—as an official journal put it—"pessimism," "nihilism," and "contempt for the Soviet man." In 1961, Soviet newspapers reported the discovery of yet another journal of this kind, this one entitled *The Martyr (Muchenik)*. Some politically minded works by members of this "literary underground" have now been smuggled abroad, and a number of these have appeared in English translation. A volume of poetry by Alexander Yesenin-Volpin was brought out under the author's own name; he is rumored to be in a Soviet prison. Then there are the already famous novel *The Trial Begins* and the brilliant, soul-searching essay *What Is Socialist Realism?*, both by the unknown Soviet writer calling himself Abram Tertz.

The latest addition to this list is a play by one "I. Ivanov" entitled *Is There Life on Mars?* As yet there is no English translation. It was brought out in the original Russian (*Yest' li zhizn' na Marse?*) by *Kultura*, a distinguished Polish periodical published in Paris. Set in Moscow and on the planet Mars in 1956, the play, described by its author as "a comedy or possibly a tragedy," treats anti-Semitism not traditionally as a deplorable "survival of the bourgeois past" out of place in a socialist Soviet society but as one of the basic features of the Soviet system.

As the curtain rises, a group of Soviet astronomers in a Moscow observatory are about to answer the centuries-old question—is there life on Mars? The scientists are a heterogeneous lot. Among them is Professor Ivanov, who is working under police surveillance imposed on him for alleged political disloyalty, and the Jewish academician Silberstein, a pathetic, frightened man who, in Yiddish-accented Russian, protests his ardent Russian patriotism. There are also two semi-literates who owe their exalted positions in science to political influence, and a Communist functionary in charge of the entire operation.

At last Mars becomes visible. The

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Moscow astronomers see a planet ruled by the voice of an invisible Father and Teacher. His visible representative, the Right Hand, is the Minister of Thunder and Lightning, who exercises strict controls over the acts and thoughts of every Martian. In addition to naked power, the minister uses persuasion to ensure absolute loyalty and obedience. Thus, all citizens of Mars must listen to the radio, read a newspaper called *The Truth* (the author uses a common synonym of the Russian word *pravda*), oversubscribe "voluntary" state loans, participate in philosophical discussion clubs, and study the "inspired" writings of the Father and Teacher. Some of the technological achievements of the planet are fabulous, but living standards —there is an acute housing shortage —are quite low.

While in theory all Martians are equal, in practice "some are more equal than others." The underprivileged Martians are the Lunars, descended from those inhabitants of the Moon who had migrated to Mars as a result of a cosmic explosion in prehistoric times. The Lunars have become integrated into their society but not completely assimilated. While outwardly they resemble other Martians, they bear such un-Martian names as Esther, Shmulovich, and Solomon Solomonovich. Not a few of them have become prominent in the three fields of endeavor they traditionally favor—veterinary science, chess playing, and music. In recent years, anti-Lunar discrimination has grown stronger. For instance, Lunars are no longer admitted to universities and are publicly humiliated.

The Minister of Thunder and Lightning, the planet's best-known lecher, wants to add to his harem Esther the Beautiful, a talented young Lunar veterinarian. When she declines, her husband (whom Esther does not love) is told that her obstinacy will bring dire reprisals on all Lunars. The Minister of Thunder and Lightning threatens to liquidate them by sending them toward the Earth on a giant plane and dropping them off when they reach the Earth's sphere of gravitation. Panic spreads among the Lunars. A delegation including celebrated veterinarians and chess players pleads with Esther to yield, but she is firm in her refusal. The minister then proceeds to create an appropriate atmosphere for the extermination of the Lunars. The Martian press and radio announce the discovery of an interplanetary Lunar conspiracy identified as Chaim, Abram & Co. A few honest Martians refuse to believe it and even try to hide some Lunars in their homes, but these Martians are soon discovered and killed by thunder and lightning. Among those who want to save the Lunars is an aging Martian professor, the inventor of the giant plane on which the Lunars are to be deported. He steals the plane's engine while the Lunars are already aboard. During the ensuing confusion it is reported that the Father and Teacher has accidentally killed himself. The planet Mars sinks into darkness.

The Soviet astronomers in Moscow are stunned. The Russian Professor Ivanov proposes a toast to the Lunars. The Jewish savant Silberstein lies dead of a heart attack at his telescope. After some reflection, the Communist Party functionary declares that owing to unsatisfactory equipment—clearly the result of sabotage—the Soviet scientists' attempt to observe life on Mars has been unsuccessful. The Soviet team saw nothing, and will so report to the party and the Soviet people.

THE PLAY is obviously a fictionalized account of the persecution of Russia's Jews in the last years of Stalin's life and before the Twentieth Communist Party Congress in 1956, a wave of terror that reached its culmination in the infamous "Doctors' Plot," in which eminent physicians, most of them Jews, were accused of attempting to poison several Soviet leaders. The physicians were described as agents of an international Zionist conspiracy co-ordinated by an American Jewish relief agency, the Joint Distribution Committee. To this day, rumors persist in Moscow that only Stalin's sudden death saved the Jews from mass deportations to Siberia.

In addition, "I. Ivanov" makes use of the Biblical story of Esther, the Jewish girl whose beauty saved her people from annihilation in ancient Persia. The heroine of *Is There Life on Mars?* (also named Esther), considering her personal and her people's dignity too high a price to pay for the mere preservation of biological life, declines a similar opportunity.

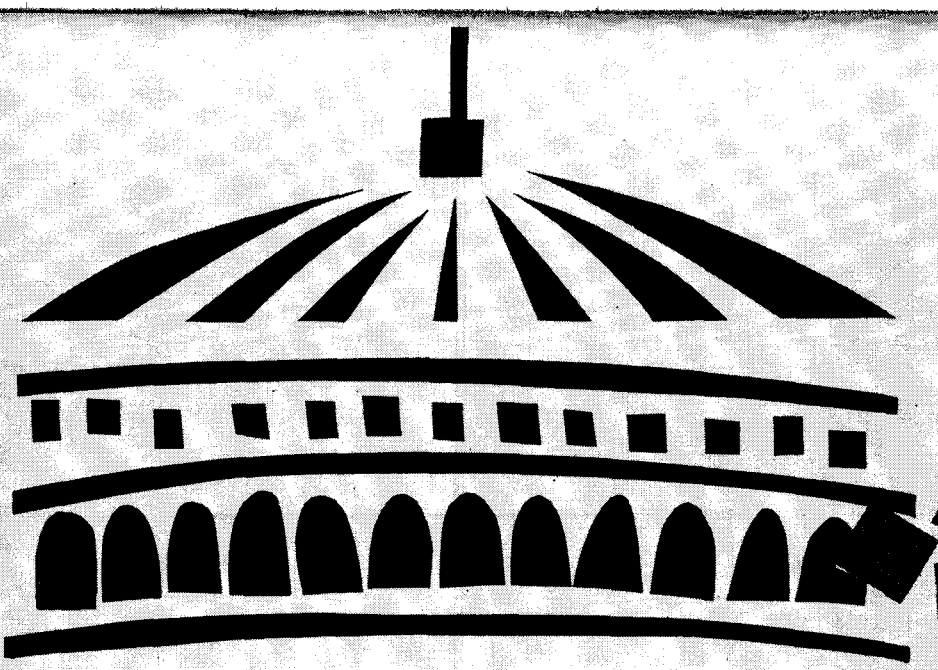
In his introduction to the play, the author points out that he harbors no love for the Pentagon or the "Bonn revanchists," realizes that the play will be praised by enemies of the Soviet Union, not to speak of "members of Israel's government," and says that in case of war he may die wearing a Soviet uniform. Nevertheless, he considers it the duty of a writer—Soviet or western—to expose the bankruptcy of the régime.

Above all, he is prompted by the fear that the anti-Semitic horrors of the Stalin era may be repeated under Khrushchev:

"Writers, too, can do their share to prevent this. May my play be another reminder that the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, having decided to bypass in complete silence the disgraceful events of 1947-1953, continues to pursue the old policies. May this play unmask that 'most democratic system' which Khrushchev extols. May it be of use to those who espouse the humanist cause, who reject both the bourgeois state machine and the Soviet dictatorship, who are searching for new paths of social evolution."

In the nineteenth century, Russian writers frequently faced the dilemma of supporting unjust acts of their nation's government or exposing themselves to the charge of treason. Many of them courageously chose the second course. In their time "official" Russian patriots denounced Alexander Herzen's championing of the Hungarian cause, Nikolai Ogaryov's defense of the Polish rebellion, Lermontov's siding with the Caucasian mountaineers against the Czar's armies, Tolstoy's indignant articles on behalf of a number of Christian sects, and Nikolai Leskov's appeals against the Czarist persecutions of the Jews. The anonymous Soviet author of *Is There Life on Mars?* may well be similarly anathematized as a traitor and a foreign agent. But some day he may be gratefully remembered as another Russian writer who, in the face of injustice and oppression, could not remain silent.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE REPORTER'S CAPITAL READING

In Washington, The Reporter informs the people who keep the public informed. Here, for example, are a few significant facts about The Reporter's standing in the Capital:

President Kennedy, on reading a collection of articles from The Reporter, had this to say about the magazine:

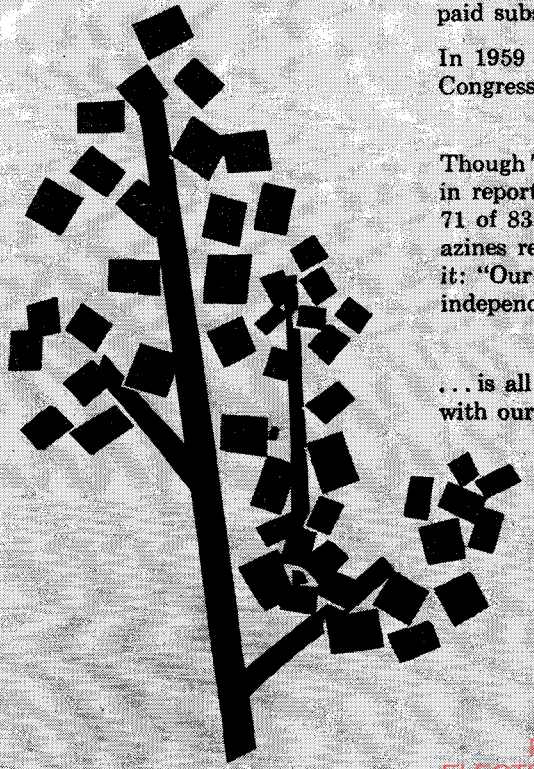
"This volume brings back some of the high points of the history of The Reporter. I believe that this book contains most of those articles which left a particular impression on me at the time they appeared. I am delighted to have this book, whose contents are a tribute to The Reporter and to its editorial leadership."

34 of the principal officials in the Executive Branch are paid subscribers. (Ten of them have written for The Reporter.)

33 U.S. Senators are paid subscribers.

Virtually every foreign embassy in Washington has one or more paid subscriptions.

In 1959 alone, 25 articles from The Reporter were inserted in the Congressional Record.



"MOST FAIR AND RELIABLE"

Though The Reporter is a favorite in Washington, it plays no favorites in reporting the news. In a survey of Washington correspondents, 71 of 83 voted The Reporter "most fair and reliable" among magazines reporting politics. As Editor and Publisher Max Ascoli put it: "Our usefulness to the administration is in direct relation to our independence of it."

LESS THAN A PENNY A DAY

. . . is all it costs you to become a regular reader of The Reporter with our half-price introductory offer:

ONLY $2.50 FOR 20 ISSUES (40 WEEKS)

You can take advantage of this half-price offer to introduce your friends to The Reporter, too. Charge your subscription if you like—we'll be glad to bill you later.

Your subscription—or your friends'—will begin as soon as we receive your order. So to enjoy The Reporter regularly at half price, mail the reply card opposite now.

Regular rates: 1 year $6; 2 years $9.50; 3 years $12 (Add $1 per year for foreign postage, $.50 per year for Canada and Pan American Union.)

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPORTER

The FACTS about our government's most secret organization— the Central Intelligence Agency

CIA

The Inside Story

Andrew Tully
Prize-winning
Washington correspondent

Now at all bookstores, $4.50

MORROW

Solution to

THE REPORTER

Puzzle #46

G	A	S	O	L	I	N	E	C	A	N	■	I	■	G
■	C	■	T	■	D	■	L	■	■	A	B	N	E	R
W	H	I	T	E	E	N	S	I	G	N	■	D	■	A
■	E	■	E	■	A	■	I	■	■	A	S	I	A	N
O	D	O	R	S	■	C	E	N	T	S	■	A	■	D
U	■	P	■	A	L	I	■	■	I	■	G	R	A	F
T	■	E	■	N	■	E	V	E	N	S	■	U	■	A
O	W	N	E	D	■	■	■	■	■	C	U	B	I	T
F	■	T	■	S	A	N	T	A	■	O	■	B	■	H
T	O	O	L	■	L	■	■	G	N	U	■	E	■	E
H	■	E	■	S	P	I	C	E	■	R	A	R	E	R
E	O	S	I	N	■	■	R	■	S	■	R	■	L	■
W	■	H	■	I	N	T	E	R	P	R	E	T	E	D
A	L	O	U	D	■	■	D	■	O	■	N	■	C	■
Y	■	E	■	E	X	P	O	S	T	F	A	C	T	O

Acrostician—

C. DOUGLAS DILLON

RECORD NOTES

BACH: B MINOR MASS. Robert Shaw Chorale and Orchestra, Robert Shaw, cond.; various solo singers. (*RCA Victor* LM 6157, *mono;* LSC 6157, *stereo.*)

Robert Shaw has reached the difficult age for conductors. He is forty-five—too old to be counted among the rising new talents, too young to be considered a thoroughly seasoned veteran. Since he is also an American and has been around for a long time, it is easy for us to take him for granted. Perhaps this splendid new recording of the B minor Mass will help to put Shaw's qualities in sharper perspective. Certainly nowhere in the world today will one find Bach better served. The recording was made at the end of a six-week tour during which Shaw conducted thirty-six performances of the Mass, but no trace of fatigue or staleness is ever apparent. The "Osanna" rings out as if the musicians had just discovered its swinging jubilation, and the hushed solemnity of the "Et incarnatus est" stands at the farthest remove from routine. The performances prior to recording produced an amazing precision and sense of ensemble among the thirty-three choristers and twenty-nine instrumentalists, for not once does one hear a ragged attack or a sagging intonation. It is all marvelously accurate, and at the same time fresh and buoyant. The solo singers are first-rate; so is the stereo engineering. This is the indicated choice, in short, for a basic piece of basic repertoire.

BERG: SUITES FROM "WOZZECK" AND "LULU." London Symphony, Antal Dorati, cond.; Helga Pilarczyk, soprano. (*Mercury* MG 50278, *mono;* SR 90278, *stereo.*)

It has been a lively season for Alban Berg on records. RCA Victor started things by bringing out the *Lyric Suite* in a crystalline performance by the Juilliard String Quartet (LM 2531 in mono, LSC 2531 in stereo). Then along came Columbia with a two-disc album under the direction of Robert Craft, containing various works ranging in date from 1905 to 1934 ("Music of Alban Berg," M2L-271 in mono, M2S-620 in stereo). Now we have the *Wozzeck* and *Lulu* Suites from Mercury. The last is also the best. Dorati conducts this music—as did the late Erich Kleiber—with a keen appreciation of its romantic line and a keen ear for its orchestral beauties (Dorati's version of the *Lulu* Suite is not only more complete than Craft's but also far more moving), and the recording is the last word in widespread clarity and dynamic impact. The final movement of the *Lulu* Suite, a somber, passionate adagio leading up to the heroine's grisly murder, is one of the glories of twentieth-century music.

SHAKESPEAREAN SONGS. April Cantelo, soprano; English Chamber Orchestra, Raymond Leppard, cond. (*Oiseau-Lyre* SOL 60036, *stereo.*)

A delectable collection of eighteenth-century Shakespearean songs (most of them new to records) which would seem to disprove the generally held notion that English music entered the dark ages with the death of Purcell in 1695. Thomas Arne's affecting "Come Away Death" is indeed worthy of Purcell himself, and Thomas Chilcot's hearty "Hark, Hark, the Lark" fully merits the adjective "Handelian." But the real "find" among the eight British composers represented on this disc is John Christopher Smith (1712-1795), a figure far better known for his associations with Handel (as amanuen-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sis and general factotum) than for his own compositions. The three songs by him in this collection—most especially his elfin setting of "You spotted snakes"—reveal a composer of imagination and skill; it would be good to hear more of his work. Other items of interest include James Hook's "Willow Song," which Gilbert and Sullivan were later to caricature in *The Mikado;* Haydn's "She Never Told Her Love" (very effective with the long-sustained chords of harpsichord accompaniment); and Arne's "Thou Soft-Flowing Avon" (words by Garrick), which was composed for the Stratford jubilee celebrations of 1769. April Cantelo's singing is as lovely as her name, the accompaniments are in fine taste, and the engineering could not be bettered.

WOLF: SONGS FROM THE "ITALIENISCHES LIEDERBUCH." Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, soprano; Gerald Moore, piano. (*Angel* 35883, *mono or stereo.*)

So many turgid and undistinguished recordings of German lieder have emerged in recent years that the arrival of a really good one becomes an event. Here at last is a contemporary collection that can stand comparison with the treasured accomplishments of Elena Gerhardt and Elisabeth Schumann. The disc contains twenty-five songs from Hugo Wolf's finest work, the *Italienisches Liederbuch.* These are songs in which the composer treats of love not from the exalted romantic heights of Heine or Goethe but from the down-to-earth standpoint of Italian peasants. Miss Schwarzkopf rises magnificently to their interpretative challenge, whether the mood is bantering or tender, scornful or mischievous, reproachful or entreating. Surely the calm repose of "Nun lass uns Frieden schliessen" has never been sustained more movingly nor the puckish irony of "Du denkst mit einem Fädchen" been insinuated more beguilingly. But it is perhaps unfair to single out individual songs when the singer has poured such a wealth of meaning and nuance into them all. The accompaniments of Gerald Moore contribute considerably to the undertaking. So do the translations of Walter Legge and the annotations of William Mann.

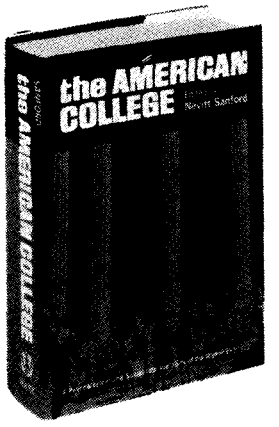
—ROLAND GELATT

WHAT A FOUR-YEAR COLLEGE EDUCATION WILL REALLY MEAN TO YOUR CHILDREN

AIMS • TECHNIQUES • ATTITUDES • BEHAVIOR • PERFORMANCE

THE AMERICAN COLLEGE

A Psychological and Social Interpretation of the Higher Learning. Edited by NEVITT SANFORD, Professor of Psychology and Education, and Director of the Institute for the Study of Human Problems, Stanford University.



Analyzes all aspects of higher education in America . . .

Every once in a while a book comes along that makes us look at an important aspect of American life and society in a different way—and *The American College* is one of them. This book applies—for the first time on a large scale—modern social and personality theory to the study of higher education in America. As such, it offers a searching and provocative analysis of every facet of collegiate life and education by an outstanding group of social and behavioral scientists. It examines the college student himself and the factors underlying his attitudes, behavior, and performance, in order to clarify such questions as why students choose particular colleges, why they undertake certain vocations and fields of study, and how they learn and develop through the college experience. In addition, the book shows how and why the American college represents a *unique* kind of social institution—with its own peculiar "culture," mode of organization, and relationship to American society as a whole.

Gives research results, new information . . .

Each chapter is a work of high-level intellectual analysis. Many of them report for the first time on recent and important research studies, including the research program conducted among the faculty, students, and alumnae of Vassar College by the Mellon Foundation. Thus, the book contains a wealth of significant information on such problems as motivation of students for a college education, the lasting effects of college on alumni, aims and techniques of teachers, and characteristics of particular American colleges and universities. Most important, it has been organized so that empirical data combine with social and psychological analysis to provide you with a new and original frame of reference for understanding and improving your children's higher education.

1962 1084 pages $10.00

At your bookseller, or

JOHN WILEY & SONS, Inc.

440 Park Avenue South, New York 16, N. Y.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Nuclear Morality

WILLIAM LEE MILLER

WAR AND THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE, by Paul Ramsey. *Duke. $6.*

GOD AND THE H-BOMB, edited by Donald Keys. *Bellmeadows Press with Bernard Geis Associates. $3.50.*

Much of the material by religious folk on morality and nuclear war treats the subject, understandably, in tones of outrage, exhortation, and wild hope: "Fifteen years in hell is enough!" "Britain could save the world by completely disarming herself, and thus, by a blazing act of faith, abolish war." "It is now high time for men to tell the politicians: we do not want mankind to embark upon annihilating itself." But though we can certainly understand why this note is struck, and though of course it is much superior to the appalling so-called "Christian anti-Communism" over on the Right, still it does not touch and stir and move the reader—at least not this one—in the way that it obviously is intended to.

Why not? Not only because its themes are now clichés but also because, even before they were clichés, they lacked a real connection with the main elements and necessities of the matter. Material in this vein tends to treat nuclear arms apart from the web of problems with which they are intertwined in their real political setting; it tends to imply that, just by an act of will, we could leap out of that web—leaving behind the network of obligations represented by our alliances, the threat of an expansive world-wide Communist empire, and the limits on what one can expect a government and a people to be persuaded to do. Sometimes, too, in these tracts there is a scolding scorn for "politicians," implying that they are morally obtuse, that is not at all convincing; some "politicians" may really have a better grip on the goods and evils of the matter, because they are directly involved in it, than do many spiritual counselors. A few sober pages in Henry Kissinger's *Nuclear War and Foreign Policy* dealing with the impact of a nuclear strike on the interdependent life of a modern city may more effectively touch the reader's moral sensitivity and make more vivid to his imagination and conscience what a nuclear war could mean than can the mixed bag of proclamatory statements by religious leaders, mostly but not all in the nuclear pacifist direction, put together under the dubious title *God and the H-Bomb.*

BUT by no means all religious reflection on this subject is of that character. The book by Paul Ramsey, who teaches in the department of religion at Princeton, consists of vigorous and thorough argument rather than exhortation and lament. Moreover, it deals quite insistently not with the destructive consequences of the weapons but rather with the principles of their use; it sorts out and underlines a point which may get lost and which the moralist is peculiarly charged to find again—namely, the point about the evil that *we* may commit. So much of the talk on nuclear war deals with the possible destructiveness for all concerned, and especially for our side, that we may overlook this other aspect of the thing: the death and destruction that we may cause by our own act. There is a distinct question, one that should not be smothered by reference to the Russians, about our own deeds, tested against our own ideas of what it is right for a nation to do. Mr. Ramsey deals with that question.

Although his book is badly written and badly organized, and although it defends a position not many in the end will accept, there is nevertheless an energetic and persistent moral intelligence moving through it that gives it strength and forces the reader to attend to its point. The point is that only "counter-forces" and not "counter-peoples" war is justifiable. But stating it baldly will not bring out its full meaning. It grows out of a series of interwoven and carefully reasoned arguments.

The fundamental argument has to do with the way one thinks about moral questions. Mr. Ramsey argues against the "future-facing" moral outlook that "reduces" ethical thinking merely to calculations of better and worse results; he speaks in the language of all those defenders of principle, duty, and moral law who

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resist making morality simply a matter of quantities, sizes, proportions, and numbers. He presses this general point not only against the compromises of the "realists" but also against the arguments of the "no-greater-evil" nuclear pacifists, who in their own way speak too much about good or (mostly) bad results, rather than about right and wrong. Mr. Ramsey insists that morality deals first of all with conduct, with the form of right action, with the lawful and the unlawful. You must deal with what is right and (more especially) wrong—what is out of bounds—before you begin calculating degrees of good or evil. You have to set the boundaries beyond which you simply say "No" before you begin talking about greatest good for greatest number and all that. Mr. Ramsey disagrees with many of his fellow Protestant moralists because he thinks that they have made Christian ethics too "prudential" or "realistic," losing the solid general rules for right action in calculations about contingencies and consequences.

This apparently abstract ethical discussion has point because Mr. Ramsey argues for a *principle* with respect to nuclear weapons. He takes what many would have regarded the most outdated part of the generally outdated classical theory of the "just war"—the requirement that war be conducted with "just means"—and applies it firmly to the military situation of our own time: force may be "just" when directed at an opposing force, but it cannot be just when directed at great masses of people.

This principle is not something Mr. Ramsey just thought up on his own; it comes from the great fund of moral wisdom built into the arduously worked-out classical Christian discriminations and requirements of the just war—or rather the "justifiable"—war. All this, one might argue, should not be thrown aside, but rather should be all the more clearly and firmly pressed now that modern technology makes unlimited destruction possible, and modern ideology makes nations all the more prone to ignore any limits on the use of force. Mr. Ramsey, following the Catholic moralist Father John Ford, finds in this ancient tradition of the natural law of justice of war a principle that we should now use to limit force: the

Study at home with the

UNIVERSITY of CHICAGO

Chacun à son goût . . . "Everyone to his own taste," as the French say . . . and we believe it, too. That's why you'll find an intellectual opportunity to suit your taste in Chicago's unique Home-Study program.

150 courses for adults . . . use your leisure creatively as you study World Affairs, Psychology, Creative Writing, Semantics, Latin, Education, the Great Books, Archeology, Religion, Linguistics, Astronomy, Interior Decoration, Library Science, Philosophy, Spanish and other fields.

Personal instruction . . . enjoy an absorbing conversation-by-mail with a University instructor, no matter what your aim: learn French or symbolic logic . . . write a fine poem or invest your money wisely . . . study Toynbee's philosophy or Religious Existentialism.

Open to all. Whether you're self-educated or hold the Ph.D., select any courses that interest you. Begin at any time . . . study at your convenience, AT HOME . . . earn academic credit. For full information, write for the Home-Study ANNOUNCEMENTS; no obligation, of course.

The Home-Study Dept.
UNIVERSITY of CHICAGO
Box R-12, Chicago 37, Ill.

"A refreshingly cynical view of municipal politics and a ward leader's last hurrah... a headlong pace that keeps the reader on edge until the last vote is bought."
—N.Y. Times Book Review

NOW IS THE TIME TO READ
ALL GOOD MEN
A novel by THOMAS J. FLEMING
$4.95 DOUBLEDAY

A POSTAL DELIVERY ZONE NUMBER HELPS SPEED YOUR MAIL!

DON'T QUIT SMOKING
before you try my New Kind of pipe
New principle that contradicts every idea you've ever had about pipe smoking. I guarantee it to smoke cool and mild hour after hour, day after day, without rest without bite, bitterness or sludge. To prove it, I'll let you try a new Carey Pipe. Send name today for my FREE complete trial offer. Write to: **E. A. CAREY, 1920 Sunnyside Ave., Dept.** 213-A, **Chicago 40, Ill.**

Out-of-Print Books
Diligently searched for and promptly reported free of charge. All authors, all subjects. Fiction, factual, technical. No obligation—write today!
BOOKS-ON-FILE, Dept. RR
Union City, New Jersey

SPECIAL OFFER!
½ PRICE!
MASTERPIECE IN REPLICA . . . FOR YOUR HOME OR AS A GIFT OF DISTINCTION

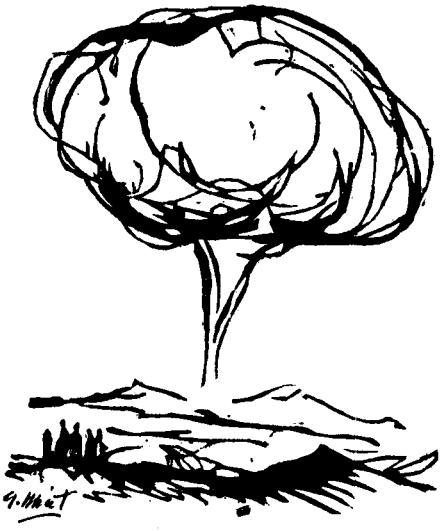
☐ 119. VENUS DE MILO. (Illustrated.) Original in The Louvre, Paris. White marble Artstone finish. Height 18". REGULARLY $14.95.

☐ 120. VENUS DE MEDICI. Dates back to 200 B.C. Legend suggests that all the most beautiful women of Greece served as models for its unknown creator. Antique bronze Artstone finish. Height 17". REGULARLY $14.95.

THIS MONTH ONLY . . . either of THESE CLASSICS **$7.47**
(Shipped Exp. Coll.)
10-DAY MONEY BACK GUARANTEE
WYNN'S FINE ART STUDIOS
Dept. R-12
Lawrence Road, Kings Park, L. I., N. Y.
Send check or money order or charge your Diners' club or American Express account.
SEND FOR FREE CATALOG, PLUS BONUS OFFER

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

principle of just means. The evil of the bombardment of cities is so direct, "intended," and certain that it cannot be justified, as other killing in war may be, as a tragically necessary side effect. The giant weapons are wrong for the same reason that obliteration bombing was wrong:



they bring the indiscriminate, ungoverned destruction of people. The moral line to be drawn is not that between force and no force, or war and peace, as pacifists claim; nor between nuclear bombs and "conventional" force, as some moderns assert. The line, rather, should be drawn between the limited resistance to an opponent's force and the ungoverned, violent destruction of peoples.

This position obviously involves holding to one more traditional notion that many will think utterly passé: the traditional notion of the immunity of noncombatants. To those who hold that such a requirement is a now fantastic remnant of a long-past chivalric notion of war, quite out of place in the age of modern total war, Mr. Ramsey and Father Ford would reply: so much the worse for modern war. War is not—nor ever should be—"total" in the sense that every man, woman, and child is a legitimate target. The subjective "innocence" of draftees as against civilians is not the point, but rather the objective participation in a force—a clear and present danger—that may and must be resisted. The soldier, whatever his state of mind and motive and however he got there, is part of this force; wives and barbers and schoolchildren are not. True, war regularly involves the incidental killing of some noncombatants, but that is a different thing from direct bombing of mass populations. Of course neat lines cannot be drawn, but that does not mean that we cannot distinguish the extremes. To resist an "unjust" attacker's army and military engine is legitimate; to attack his people indiscriminately is not. To resist an assailant's attack is legitimate; to threaten his wife and children to make him desist is not. The latter, says Mr. Ramsey, is what we are now doing: for our political purpose, we are threatening the lives of thousands of Moscow schoolchildren. That act is unjustifiable.

What then would he have us do? Disarm and rearm. He follows former AEC Commissioner Thomas Murray in saying that we should try a one-at-a-time dismantling of the megaton weapons, pressing the Russians to reciprocate. Even if they do not, we should dispose of these immoral, undiscriminating, "unusable" terror weapons, and rearm with usable and limited force—force that is rational and morally justifiable.

CERTAIN REBUTTALS to Mr. Ramsey's argument are obvious enough. First, one would have to disagree with him about the method of ethics appropriate to politics; reflection about what ought to be done in national policy must take primary accounting of consequences and of possibilities in a particular setting. Although we have principles, we have several that conflict, not just one that settles the matter absolutely even before we look at the situation. Although his argument is much superior to theirs, in the end Mr. Ramsey is like the religious writers in *God and the H-Bomb* in abstracting nuclear arms from their political setting. Putting them back in that setting, one would have to argue that continuing to possess the larger ones as a deterrent is not "useless, irrational terror" but does have use: it may help prevent the evils that would ensue if they were possessed by the other side only—the evils, that is, of the intimidation of the world by the Communist power. Khrushchev's indelicate remarks about fifty-megaton and hundred-megaton bombs, and his dire intimations at the time of the Suez and Cuban affairs, along with much more evidence, make it clear that such evils are not fanciful. Not only our own but the schoolchildren of allies and the non-Communist peoples have a kind of protection, real though precarious, under the umbrella of that possession. For the moment it helps to maintain a dangerous but real international order. The principled unilateral rejection of the H-bomb, in the inconceivable event that national leaders should adopt it, would bring desperate and unpredictable consequences. It would not be responsible to do it.

Having given these replies, one may still have an awareness that Mr. Ramsey is right in at least one very important respect. Most of the argumentation about the morality of nuclear warfare has not been, as it ought to be, addressed to the question he insists upon: what should we regard, on our own principles, as justifiable force?

Who Started The War?

FRANK FREIDEL

THE ORIGINS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, by A. J. P. Taylor. *Atheneum. $4.50.*

Upsetting traditional or official interpretations of the causes of a war has long been a favorite occupation of historians on both sides of the Atlantic, and at times has led to useful re-evaluations. But until this revisionist study appeared in England last spring, no one seemed to question the fact that the blame for the outbreak of war in 1939 rested firmly and irrefutably upon Hitler. Hence the excitement over Taylor's pronouncement that it was as much an outcome of Anglo-French ineptness. Hitler, says Taylor, neither planned nor wanted war with England and France.

The *Times Literary Supplement*, the *Observer*, and the *Guardian* all hailed the brilliance of Taylor's logic, but a fellow Oxford don, Hugh Trevor-Roper, sternly challenged him with an eight-thousand-word attack

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler No. 47

by HENRY ALLEN

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the acrostician.

A
98 172 162 70 26 188 105 141 95
Any of certain South American shrubs of the rutaceous genus.

B
202 40 8 72 218 135 168 66
What one may be in connection with a switch. (6,2)

C
128 32 6 18 208 139 58 212 160 194 48
A favorite American dessert. (5,6)

D
60 22 34 220 214 178 131 198 36 101

38 121 91 14 103 222 42 52
An important interest of the Acrostician, inter alia. (10,8)

E
210 154 107 10 99 182 30
Act of placing cargo in the hold of a ship.

F
180 132 166 81 4 28 74 119 164 190

44 196 87 224
Aided twice. (8,6)

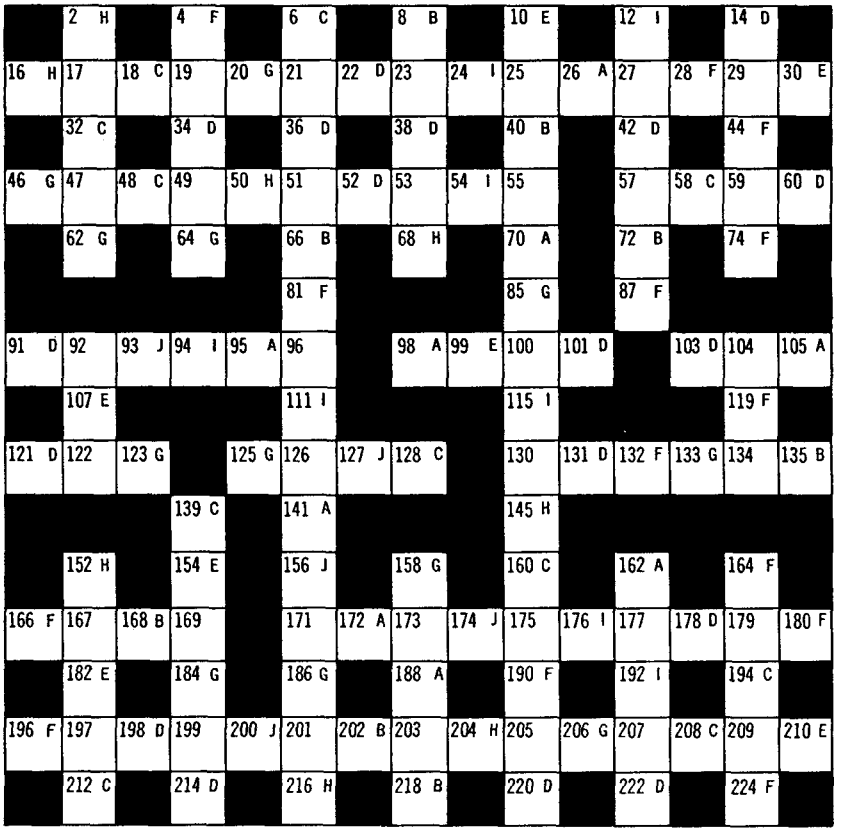
G
158 184 64 62 85 133 20 125 206 46

123 186
Who calls the tune_____. (4,3,5)

H
50 2 152 16 145 68 216 204
Bringing bad fortune. (3-5)

I
12 111 115 24 192 94 54 176
"Old Man_____first, Yellow-Dog Dingo behind." Kipling, "Sing-Song of Old Man_____."

J
156 93 127 174 200
Small cases for needles, etc.



DOWN

2. Fibbers may be found in familiar surroundings.
4. This may be dusty and brown.
6. Price act cleared by suitable proclamation. (9,6)
8. When it's let, I'm within this bound.
10. Description of one in a good school section or not beyond the limits of propriety? (3,3,2,3,4)
12. Kind of dog Wilson got in the doghouse about.
14. What 4 down is in France.
92. We are up in Italy a particle.
104. A stir in Mogador or Trieste.
139. A skater finds a longitudinal plate on board.
152. A sunken object with a flag and buoy.
158. A platter that is softly behind times.
162. It was courageous in Poe to look at his drab raven.
164. Raid around? Why? Keep a journal of it.

ACROSS

16. A great trifle? Cite it for a kind of fag. (6,9)
46. Look before with careful speech to find a prophecy.
57. Kind of art found descending a staircase.
91. In aquavit rice wine it's glass-like.
98. Jai alai not a first-class pen.
103. He has a mandate, but no fruit, this fellow.
121. Individual result of self-division.
125. A lump of fruit.
130. With 171 across, title of the Acrostician (connected by "of").
166. A safari with no if about it in this region.
171. See 130 across.
196. Sad beavers trick these unwanted co-pilots on the roads. (4,4,7)

©1962 by the Reporter Magazine Company

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in *Encounter*. "It is not surprising," Trevor-Roper commented, that Taylor's interpretation "has been hailed with cries of delight in neo-Nazi or semi-Nazi circles in Germany."

The Origins of the Second World War, augmented with a preface addressed to American readers, is now making its appearance in the United States. But it is not likely to be hailed with delight by those extreme American revisionists who have ascribed their own country's entrance into the Second World War to a sinister plot by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, leading to betrayal at Pearl Harbor. Nor will it please even that handful who have always felt that if Hitler's western neighbors had left him to his own devices he would have contented himself with destroying Soviet Russia. At least it will not delight them if they read the book carefully. These American revisionists are a grimly humorless, paranoiac lot, believing intensely in the diabolical foresight and deep-laid conspiracies of their villains. They see everything in sharp blacks and whites, hailing their heroes and hissing their malefactors. They have differed from the rest of the nation partly in the extremes to which they carry their habits of thought, and even more in their choice of demons. For most Americans the man of unsurpassed evil was Hitler.

TAYLOR'S REVISIONISM is of a different sort, a game of endless glittering paradoxes in which he reduces would-be heroes to well-meaning incompetents, and raises popular villains to not far from the same level. From the masses of available evidence, he selects those quotations which serve his thesis, glossing over or discarding those which would mar the brilliant effect. Sparing no one from his witty barbs and destroying no one with righteous wrath, his masterpiece is a startlingly unfamiliar Hitler: a planless opportunist taking advantage of the groping blunderers around him until, undone by his easy successes, he too blunders irretrievably.

This Hitler might seem faintly familiar to those who have read Taylor's earlier books on nineteenth-century diplomacy, for Taylor garbs him with patterns of thought and action that might almost be ill-fitting hand-me-downs from Bismarck. Indeed, the whole diplomatic game which Taylor sketches so wryly seems that of the nineteenth century, and the Germans the same people he has previously regarded with such disfavor. In effect, he has recorded the twentieth-century cataclysm in neat nineteenth-century terms. It is old-fashioned diplomatic history, recounting the maneuvers and countermaneuvers of the antagonists with only an occasional glance at the peoples and issues behind them. It provides the reader with the hypnotic fascination of being a spectator at a chess game, and one loses any sense of observing forces of good and evil. Also as in a chess game, the spectacle that Taylor records has a sort of neatness and inner logic. Stripping the events of the 1930's to the essentials of a diplomatic game does have the advantage of affording new insight, but it creates the equal hazard of new distortion.

The fundamental nature of the game has long been clear to historians, and in this Taylor presents much the usual views. The conclusion of the First World War, he says, made implicit the outbreak of a second. The German nation, smarting over the Versailles restrictions which humiliated it without rendering it impotent, was marshaled by Hitler to reassert the position as the dominant power in Europe that its population and industrial potential made inevitable. Confronting Germany was a France that wanted security without undue expenditure of economic resources or manpower, and an England ready to accept as morally valid the claims that the Reich should be allowed to expand to incorporate German areas outside its previous borders.

It is in his analysis of the way in which Hitler and his antagonists played the game that Taylor is original. Hitler, he contends, did not operate according to any set plan or timetable, and at no point wished to precipitate a general war. Most of what Hitler said and wrote, even *Mein Kampf*, can be dismissed as empty ranting having little or nothing to do with his actions. The bellicose exhortations to the generals were merely a means to prevent these conservative men from interfering with Hitler's diplomatic moves. "Hitler was a rational, though no doubt a wicked statesman," says Taylor. "His object was the steady extension of German power, not theatrical displays of glory." Operating with an iron nerve, he had merely to make general threats and the English and the French would repeatedly drop in his lap even more than he had demanded. Thus Lord Halifax's remarks when he traveled to Berchtesgaden in November, 1937, "were an invitation to Hitler to promote German nationalist agitation in Danzig, Czechoslovakia, and Austria; an assurance also that this agitation would not be opposed from without."

As long as Hitler was pursuing what the British regarded as morally justifiable goals—consummating the national self-determination of German peoples—those making concessions to him could feel that they were preserving both peace and honor. Even the Munich concessions on the Sudetenland fit under this rubric. Then came the collapse of the rest of Czechoslovakia (which Taylor insists Hitler did not plot or plan), and Britain's attitude sharply changed. Non-Germans were forced into Hitler's new order; that and the general belief that Hitler's word was not to be trusted created a sense of outrage among the British people. Almost as an aside, Taylor then mentions what other writers have with reason elaborated upon at length:

"Of course Hitler's protectorate brought tyranny to Bohemia—secret police, the S.S., the concentration camps; but no more than in Germany itself. It was this which roused public opinion in Great Britain. Hitler's domestic behavior, not his foreign policy, was the real crime which ultimately brought him—and Germany—to the ground."

The British and French then promised armed assistance to Poland, the next potential victim; the Poles stood firm rather than crumbling as Hitler expected, and out of miscalculations on both sides over the Danzig crisis came war. Thus runs Taylor's argument.

IN GENERAL it is a line of reasoning more notable for its cleverness than its precision. On the Polish crisis it is at its weakest, since if Hitler really wanted concessions, he could have postponed his September

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

l deadline (arranged the previous April). Taylor has performed a service in portraying Hitler as a rational man rather than a maniac, but the reader is likely to underestimate the viciousness of Hitler's rational program. True, Hitler wanted to gain all his goals without a major war, but who has ever doubted this point? A simple gauge of Taylor's book is to compare his pallid, bowdlerized Hitler with Alan Bullock's lifelike and frightening portrait in *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny* or William L. Shirer's in *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich. The Origins of the Second World War* is by no means wicked, but neither is it altogether convincing.

Ideals Without Ideas

MARTIN GREENBERG

WRITERS ON THE LEFT: EPISODES IN AMERICAN LITERARY COMMUNISM, by Daniel Aaron. *Harcourt, Brace & World. $7.50.*

The Communist movement was never able to achieve more than a negligible influence on American political life. But as an intellectual movement, it was able to attract, more or less briefly during the 1930's, a group of American writers that included Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser, John Dos Passos, Malcolm Cowley, Granville Hicks, Lewis Mumford, Thomas Wolfe, James T. Farrell, Horace Gregory, Langston Hughes, Lincoln Steffens, F. O. Matthiessen, Edmund Wilson, Lionel Trilling, and many, many others. The discrepancy between the political and the intellectual influence of the Communist movement is underlined by the fact that very few of the left-wing writers ever became members of the party.

Why should Communism have had so little effect politically and so broad an effect intellectually? What condemned the Communist Party to political impotence was its captivity to Soviet Russia. It was never really given a chance to develop as a native political move-

Hyung Sook longs to go to school. But schooling is not free in Korea and the boy's widowed mother cannot afford the school fees. She works as a seamstress and earns about $4.00 a week. Every penny goes for rice and rent for their one small room.

Hyung Sook has heard of the generosity of Americans. He dreams that Save the Children Federation will find someone in America to sponsor him. Then he will have money for school, for books, for decent clothing, for more nourishing food.

can you say no?

Please say yes to a child like Hyung Sook! Your contribution of $12.50 a month will provide a needy youngster in Korea, Greece, Lebanon, France, Italy, Finland, West Germany or Austria with friendship, encouragement and material benefits. You will receive the photograph and story of the child you sponsor and begin a warm person-to-person relationship through an exchange of letters. Please help a child overseas look at the world with hope again.

Save the Children Federation, the first international, non-profit, non-sectarian welfare organization in the U. S., is registered with the U. S. State Department Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid and is a member of the International Union for Child Welfare.

Serving Children for 30 Years
SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION
Norwalk, Connecticut

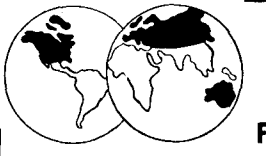
I wish to contribute $150.00 annually to help a ☐ girl ☐ boy in _____ or where the need is greatest ☐. *(countries listed above)*
Enclosed is my first payment: $12.50 a month ☐ $37.50 a quarter ☐ $75 semi-annually ☐ $150 annually ☐
I cannot sponsor a child, enclosed is contribution of $_____

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ Zone _____ State _____
Contributions are income tax deductible. RE 1-2

FOR CAPITAL READING ALL YEAR LONG SEE PAGE 45

"It seemed an inspiration when the United Nations building in New York was formally inaugurated in October 1952—an appropriate inscription carved in foot-high letters in the granite parapet facing the building. In December 1961, the chosen inscription seemed less felicitous. It reads: 'They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.'"

From the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. Write to Dept. P-6, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N.Y., for free copy.



An Open Letter on Foreign Policy

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT
by Harrop and Ruth Freeman

What are the 10 revolutions shaping our world? Why is the problem North-South, not East-West?

346 pp., cloth $4.00, paper $3.00

PORTER SARGENT
11 BEACON ST. BOSTON 8

Universal Record Club
THE ONLY RECORD CLUB *offering*
ALL MONAURAL & STEREO RECORDS, ALL ARTISTS & ALL LABELS
...and this GREAT DEAL:
Buy 2 - Get 1 FREE
50% DIVIDEND
Order any 2 L. P.'S - Get 3rd L. P. of your choice free *(must be in same price category)*
THIS OFFER GOOD EVERYTIME YOU BUY
Write for full details and new 250 page catalog — 35c in coin only, deductible from first order. All records guaranteed factory fresh. Shipped immediately at regular catalog prices. Small handling and mailing charge.
Universal Record Club Box 1111TR Mountainside, N.J.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment. "In its infancy," Theodore Draper writes in *The Roots of American Communism,* "it was transformed from a new expression of American radicalism to the American appendage of Russian revolutionary power. Nothing else so important happened to it again." If the Communist movement had more success with the American writer, it was because, in a time of social crisis, he embraced "the *idea* of Communism," as Professor Aaron puts it, as part of his "running quarrel with his society." The literary Communism of the 1930's was an authentic episode in American literary history and takes its place in the dissident tradition of American literature.

But if it was an authentic literary movement and not just a Communist Party operation on the "cultural front," it is also true that it was not exclusively a literary movement and had a political side. *Writers on the Left* is useful literary history, but it shows a shallow understanding of the political side and falls into sentimentality in its vindication of the social role of the literary Communist. That sentimentality is also a part of the American tradition.

MR. AARON begins his chronicle of the main events and issues of literary radicalism from 1912 to the early 1940's in the lively years just before the First World War. The artist-rebels of that time rose up against what Van Wyck Brooks wittily called "the abnormal dignity of American letters." Their forebears were Emerson, with his implicitly revolutionary transcendental optimism, and of course Whitman; their stamping grounds were the old *Masses* and Greenwich Village.

The pre-First World War radicalism was a movement of spiritual liberation: it did not erect any opposition between personal and social liberation. It was fresh, full of energy, and interested in everything: free verse, birth control, socialism, anarchism, sex, penal reform, cubism, feminism, the new psychology, etc., etc.—the 1913 Paterson strike of textile workers *and* the 1913 New York Armory Show of international art. How this open-mindedness contrasts with the dogmatic narrowness and intellectual stultification that marked the Stalinist radicalism of the 1930's!

In the 1920's, the "Lost Generation" of Bohemians and expatriates (as well as conservative critics like Mencken and the Humanists) added their unpolitical voices to those of the prewar radicals in condemnation of the philistine and commercial *Saturday Evening Post* culture of America. The most important literary function of this criticism was to sustain and incorporate the work being done by the poets and writers of the 1920's; but it also prepared the intellectual ground for the literary Communism of the next decade, when the great depression and the menace of Nazism would bring writers and intellectuals to it in droves.

The great swing of writers, artists, and intellectuals to Communism, Mr. Aaron stresses repeatedly, was a response to objective circumstances and not just the result of neurotic frustration, venality, or apocalyptic yearnings. "The Great Depression, with its hunger marches, its Hoovervilles, its demoralized farmers, its nomads and park sleepers, its angry workers, its joyless youth and bankrupt entrepreneurs, was not the projection of sick personalities. The writers who wrote about bread lines . . . did not get their instructions from Moscow." *Writers on the Left,* by its method of extensive quotation and paraphrase of the writings of the times, re-creates the literary side of the period with some of its immediacy, and for the most part with exemplary fair-mindedness. By showing "the way it really was," Mr. Aaron is able to refute some of the simplifications which subsequently became current about the "Red decade." The decade was not so Red that the Communists had it all their own way. Their influence on intellectual life was powerful for a time, and in places dominant, but they were never able to dictate over the intellectual life of New York, let alone that of the nation. In the very midst of the times, writers were leveling a devastating criticism against literary Communism.

Newton Arvin wrote in 1930: "What I do not like about the *New Masses* is the affectation of idealized proletarianism, the monotonous strumming on the hard-boiled string, the hostility to ideas on other levels than one, the contempt for modulated writing and criticism, the evasion of discussion . . ." Joseph Wood Krutch spoke of the Communist's "intense and burning hatred for the urbanity, detachment, and sense of fair play which makes thinking amiable." And the often quoted comments of Edmund Wilson show a penetrating good sense brought to bear on "proletarian culture" and other fatuities.

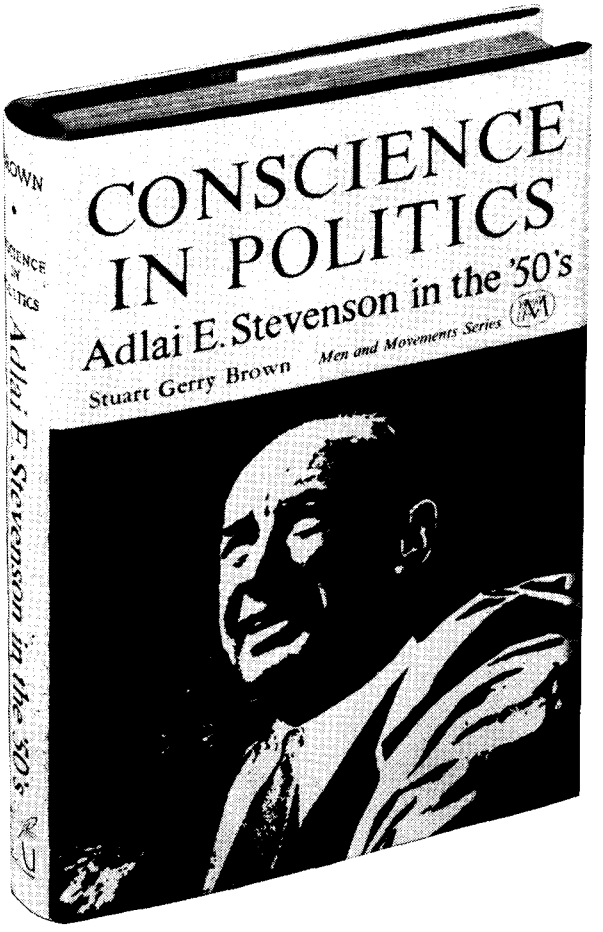
Criticism like this, along with the exposure of the nature of Russian Communism by such events as the Moscow trials and the Hitler-Stalin pact, speeded the inevitable decline of the leftist literary movement. There was another kind of criticism, however, which the author does less justice to—criticism of literary Communism by the anti-Communist Left. Part of the reason he neglects this criticism is that it was strongly political, and his whole tendency is to minimize literary Communism's political connection and political ideas. In his notes, Mr. Aaron paraphrases Leon Dennen as saying, " . . . the great crime committed by the Communists . . . was to banish truth from the socialist movement." Dennen's observation is just; but there is little in *Writers on the Left* to indicate that the author *feels* the connection of the leftist literary movement with a political force that was the enemy of the truth, although of course he recognizes it as a general proposition.

Witness the example of Mike Gold: party fishwife and hatchet man, he was one who helped to banish truth. But Mr. Aaron can only see him as "the veteran of a dozen literary campaigns." When Gold was hauled out of forced retirement during the period of the Nazi-Soviet pact to vituperate against the intellectuals who had turned against the Communist movement, Mr. Aaron mildly describes him as "a passionate partisan, not . . . an objective historian."

THE EX-RADICALS had joined the Communist movement because they believed its assurance that it was the best fighter against Nazism, as well as because they embraced the Communist view of depression America; now Communism had betrayed this profound motive of their allegiance. Is it any wonder that they repudiated their party connections? It is an important criticism of Mr.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Conscience in Politics
ADLAI E. STEVENSON
in the 1950's



STUART GERRY BROWN

"A deeply ambiguous drama was played on the American stage of Presidential politics between 1952 and 1960," Sidney Hyman says in the *New York Times Book Review*. This book, focused on Stevenson's influence on the public mind in those years, brings in juxtaposition the words and actions of Stevenson and Eisenhower on the crucial issues: nuclear testing, McCarthy, foreign policy, civil rights. "The effect," Hyman says, "is a continuous dialogue which retains an astonishing power to hold the reader's interest and surprise him . . . A book well-lit from inside with compassion, restraint and flawless taste . . . it merits a wide and attentive audience." A *Men and Movements* book.
$4.50

Other Men and Movements Books

NORMAN THOMAS, Respectable Rebel

MURRAY B. SEIDLER. "A most competent job of research and skillful, objective writing." *Saturday Review*. "Good narrative." *The Reporter*. $5.50

GIFFORD PINCHOT, Bull Moose Progressive

MARTIN L. FAUSOLD. Pinchot, Theodore Roosevelt, Hughes, Hiram Johnson are "all part of this . . . engrossing story." *Phila. Inquirer*. $4.50

HENRY A. WALLACE: Quixotic Crusade 1948

KARL M. SCHMIDT. "A superb political case study, graphically written, scholarly . . . probably as final an account as can be drawn." *The Annals*, American Academy of Political and Social Science. $5.50

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Liberal of the 1920's

D. JOY HUMES. The editor of *The Nation* and the causes he fought for. "A most valuable account of a man and a period." Freda Kirchwey. $4.50

Order from your bookseller or
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Syracuse 10, New York

Please send me.

___Conscience in Politics	4.50
___Norman Thomas	5.50
___Gifford Pinchot	4.50
___Henry A. Wallace	5.50
___Oswald Garrison Villard	4.50

___Send postpaid
(payment enclosed)
___Bill me

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

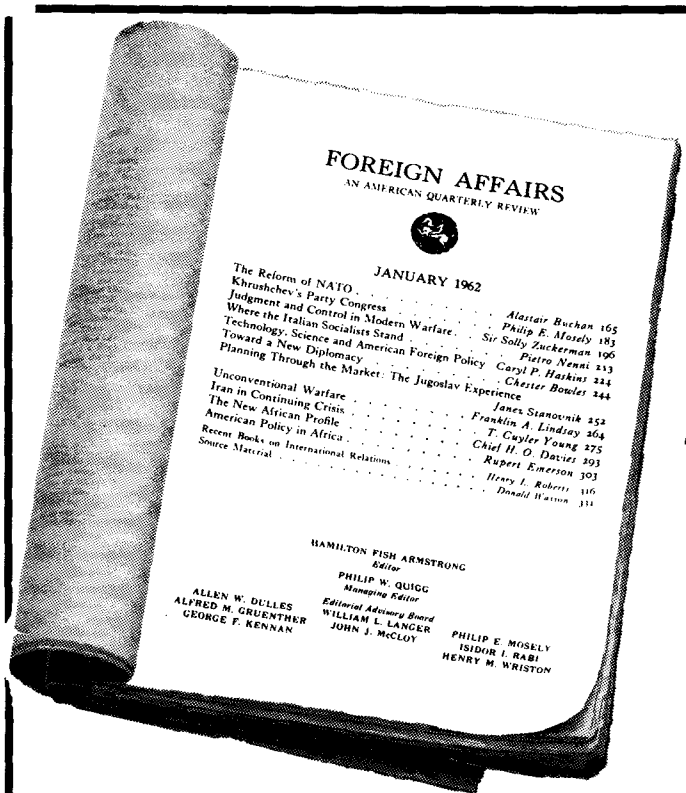
_____

_____

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—"a superb instrument of statesmanship"*


FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AN AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW
JANUARY 1962
The Reform of NATO . . . . . Alastair Buchan 165
Khrushchev's Party Congress . . . . . Philip E. Mosely 183
Judgment and Control in Modern Warfare . . . . . Sir Solly Zuckerman 196
Where the Italian Socialists Stand . . . . . Pietro Nenni 213
Technology, Science and American Foreign Policy . . . . . Caryl P. Haskins 224
Toward a New Diplomacy . . . . . Chester Bowles 244
Planning Through the Market: The Jugoslav Experience . . . . . James Stanounik 252
Unconventional Warfare . . . . . Franklin A. Lindsay 264
Iran in Continuing Crisis . . . . . T. Cuyler Young 275
The New African Profile . . . . . Chief H. O. Davies 293
American Policy in Africa . . . . . Rupert Emerson 303
Recent Books on International Relations . . . . . Henry L. Roberts 316
Source Material . . . . . Donald Wasson 331
HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG
Editor
PHILIP W. QUIGG
Managing Editor
Editorial Advisory Board
ALLEN W. DULLES
ALFRED M. GRUENTHER
GEORGE F. KENNAN
WILLIAM L. LANGER
JOHN J. McCLOY
PHILIP E. MOSELY
ISIDOR I. RABI
HENRY M. WRISTON

*President John F. Kennedy: ***"Foreign Affairs** *is a superb instrument of statesmanship. Its pages are one of the chief means by which there is a constant and meaningful dialogue between the realms of scholarship and public affairs. I know of no clearer sounding board for the testing both of new ideas and of the practical wisdom of world leaders."*

AS YOU READ the pages of FOREIGN AFFAIRS you can be sure that at the same time heads of state, foreign ministers, scholars and men of affairs everywhere are scanning them with you. They turn regularly to FOREIGN AFFAIRS for knowledge of what other leaders are thinking and proposing, for analyses in depth of life-and-death issues, for a sense of the forces around the world that are moving the minds of men.

AND IT IS BECAUSE these same leaders in every land realize the worth and influence of FOREIGN AFFAIRS that you will find so many of them writing in its pages.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS was founded in 1922 by perceptive men—members of the Council on Foreign Relations—who foresaw that the role of the United States in world affairs was to become more important than most Americans then realized.

SINCE the first issue, the primary aim of FOREIGN AFFAIRS has been to close the gap that too often separates the American public from those who plan and make American Foreign policy.

THUS although FOREIGN AFFAIRS is read and written by experts, it is edited for all people who have inquiring minds and a sense of responsibility for keeping themselves informed. It is edited in the conviction that important ideas and issues of policy can be made comprehensible and interesting to the layman as well as to the professional.

SOME RECENT CONTRIBUTORS

Dean Acheson • Konrad Adenauer • Robert B. Anderson • Isaiah Berlin • Eugene R. Black • Habib Bourguiba • Willy Brandt • Geoffrey Crowther • Arthur H. Dean • John Foster Dulles • Anthony Eden • Amintore Fanfani • Hugh Gaitskell • John K. Galbraith • A. Whitney Griswold • George F. Kennan • John F. Kennedy • Ayub Khan • Nikita Khrushchev • Henry A. Kissinger • Clare Boothe Luce • John J. McCloy • Luis Munoz Marin • Gamal Abdel Nasser • Jawaharlal Nehru • Harold Nicolson • Kwame Nkrumah • Robert Oppenheimer • Lester B. Pearson • Nelson A. Rockefeller • Dean Rusk • Paul-Henri Spaak • Adlai E. Stevenson • Maxwell D. Taylor • Edward Teller • Marshal Tito • Jacob Viner • Barbara Ward • Albert Wohlstetter • Henry M. Wriston

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SPECIAL OFFER TO NEW SUBSCRIBERS

To introduce FOREIGN AFFAIRS to new subscribers, we will enter a year's subscription at the reduced rate of $5.00 (regular rate $6.00 for 4 issues) and send you the January issue free—5 issues for only $5.00. You save $2.50.

Current January Issue FREE

FOREIGN AFFAIRS SAVE $2.50
58 East 68th Street, New York 21, N.Y.

Enclosed is $5.00 (special introductory rate) for a year's subscirption to begin with the next (April) issue. As an extra bonus I am to receive at once the current January issue without charge.

Name .....

Address .....

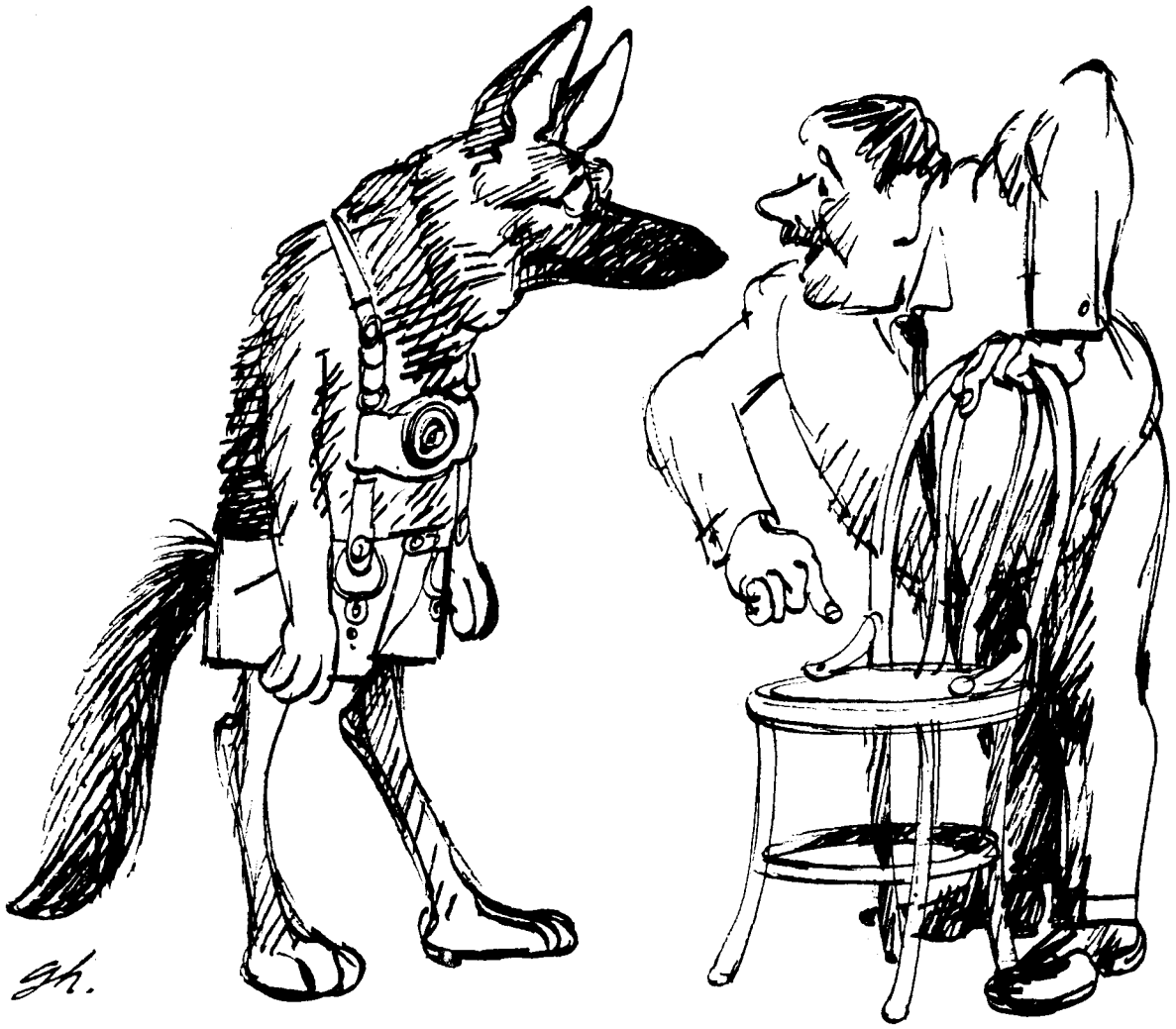
City ..... Zone ..... State .....

Aaron's book that he treats literary Communism as being hardly involved in the moral and intellectual violations committed by the powerful fanaticism it supported.

How shall one understand literary Communism, finally? Behind Professor Aaron's indifference to its political side lies a lack of seriousness about ideas that is very much in an American liberal tradition. He values literary Communism, after all its inadequacies and failures have been noted, for having led writers to "take their social role more devotionally," for having quickened their "social sympathies," for uniting art and life, for breaking down "the barriers that had isolated many writers from the great issues of their times." He values the social conscience of the literary Communists apart from the political ideas through which it was expressed. But that conscience did not exist separately from its ideas; no conscience can. And those ideas expressed the sentimentalities and the ferocities that were contained in the progressive-Communist position, and its ultimate betrayal of the democratic ideal. "We who precariously survive in the sixties," Professor Aaron writes, "can regret their inadequacies and failures, their romanticism, their capacity for self-deception, their shrillness, their self-righteousness. It is less easy to scorn their efforts, however blundering and ineffective, to change the world." But if I do not scorn their efforts to change the world, I do most certainly deprecate them. To the degree that they would have succeeded, they would have established the tyrannical rule of a bloody-minded orthodoxy.

OF COURSE that is not what the literary Communists intended. Their ideals were the democratic ideals of progressive liberalism. But that is just the point: ideals are not enough. It was not enough for writers and intellectuals simply to plunge into "great issues" with their social ideals, making do with the ideas supplied them by the Communists. Ideals, no matter how fine, need strong, critically examined ideas as well, lest the inadequate ideas lead one down a devious path to a goal the very opposite of what idealism had intended.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A MAN'S BEST FREUND IS HIS DEUTSCH

The man sat across the desk from us looking tired and embarrassed. We asked him what Berlitz could do for him, and he answered in a hoarse voice.

"Well, I don't know quite how to say it. I mean, I have a sort of special problem and I need a special teacher."

We assured him that at Berlitz, instructors were special.

"Well, what I need to learn is German. But I've got to have an instructor who loves dogs. Otherwise, he won't understand. I mean, I'd feel silly." We explained that, by nature, all Berlitz instructors were kindly, understanding people and that we were sure that by going through our personnel files we could find a German instructor who was more than fond of dogs. He then explained his reasons.

He had a son in the army who was stationed in Germany. While there, the boy found a beautiful German Shepherd for sale. It was a big, lovable, friendly dog, and laid claim to being a genius of the canine world. As the boy wrote his father, "Fritz understands over 250 commands. And since I know how much you love dogs I am having him shipped to you."

So it was that Fritz arrived in his crate one peaceful noontide in Baltimore. But alas, all was not peaceful for long. Soon shouts of, "sit, lie down, get up, go out, fetch, come here" could be heard booming from the house. Fritz sat and watched, and wagged his tail. Obviously his son had been taken and Fritz was one very dumb dog.

Suddenly it came to him. Perhaps Fritz only understood German. He decided to try his limited German vocabulary on Fritz. "*Ya, nein, Ich Liebe Dich,*" he said. Fritz, hearing the sounds of the fatherland, came over to his new master and licked his face and hands. "*Ich Liebe Dich, Ich Liebe Dich.*" It was soon obvious that the vocabulary would have to increase.

And so he came to Berlitz. We assured him that we could help, and after going through our files, we found a young instructor who not only was an excellent German instructor but who raised German Shepherds as an avocation. Now Fritz understands every word his master says. And, in canine appreciation, is even picking up a little English. He will probably be the only bi-lingual German Shepherd in Baltimore.

The above story is true. It illustrates how speaking the other fellow's language can really pay off. This is true whether you're a businessman, a dog owner, or a tourist out on the town. At Berlitz you can learn to speak any language quickly and easily and Berlitz private instruction makes it possible for you to arrange a schedule to suit your convenience. In our schools, in homes, in offices, in the Venezuelan jungles, in the oil fields of Indonesia, Berlitz instructors have taught 10½ million people to speak over 50 different languages, and across the country or around the globe your local Berlitz Director can tailor a program of Berlitz instruction to your specific needs.

There are 240 Berlitz schools in leading cities throughout the world. They're easy to find. Simply consult your local telephone directory or any handy German Shepherd.

FOR BUSINESS OR PLEASURE,
PEOPLE WHO GO PLACES GO TO

berlitz®

BALTIMORE • BEVERLY HILLS • BOSTON • CHICAGO • CINCINNATI • CLEVELAND • DALLAS • DETROIT • EAST ORANGE • EVANSTON • GREAT NECK • HOUSTON • LOS ANGELES • MEXICO CITY • MIAMI • MINNEAPOLIS • MONTREAL • NEW ORLEANS • NEW YORK • PASADENA • PHILADELPHIA • PITTSBURGH • ST. LOUIS • SANTA ANA • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO • SAN JUAN • SAN MATEO • SEATTLE • STAMFORD • TORONTO • WASHINGTON • WHITE PLAINS

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Napoléon Reçoit à Tilsitt La Reine de Prusse. Détail de la peinture par Gosse. (Musée de Versailles.)

Napoleon receives the Queen of Prussia at Tilsit, July 6, 1807 upon her arrival for the signing of the peace treaty between France and Prussia. Also shown in the group are Talleyrand, Czar Alexander of Russia, King Frederick William III of Prussia.

COURVOISIER

COGNAC

What a host of historic moments are associated with Courvoisier Cognac! It is ***The Brandy of Napoleon.*** As you lift a glass of Courvoisier, reflect *un petit moment* that you hold in your hand Cognac of the same matchless flavour and bouquet which has been the choice of kings and statesmen, of all who can command the finest.

Imported by W. A. Taylor & Company, New York, N.Y. Sole Distributors for the U.S.A.

*COURVOISIER COGNAC — AND COURVOISIER ONLY — BEARS THIS REGISTERED PHRASE ON EVERY BOTTLE. REG. U.S. PAT OFF.

SPECIAL OFFER IN FRENCH CRYSTALWARE—Four Courvoisier snifter glasses, about 3½ inches tall, with Napoleonic emblem in permanent gold design. Shipped to you from France. Send $1 cash or check *payable to T.V.*, P.O. Box 1205, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N.Y. Dept. R-1.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED